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THE

# *Asiatic Quarterly Review.*

JANUARY, 1888.

## THE NIZAM'S OFFER.

No event in the history of India during the present generation has excited so much and such durable interest as the spontaneous offer of the Nizam of Hyderabad, the richest and most powerful of the ruling princes of Hindostan, to contribute a large sum of money out of the revenues of his State towards placing the north-west frontier of that country in a proper state of defence. It has done more than all the talk at Colonial Conferences about Imperial unity, and still more than the visits of other Indian feudatories to the seat of Empire to show that the great magnates of Asia, whether they be bound to us by the ties of alliance or of subjection, are attached to our rule, and have faith in our power in a sense that Rome never attained and that Russia has herself no hope of attaining. In classical history the only approximations to such an event were the barren acts by which Nicomedes and other Bithynian rulers made the Roman people their heirs ; but for fifteen centuries of the most important epochs in history neither Greece nor Carthage nor Imperial Rome ever experienced that shock of pleasant surprise and gratified vanity caused us the other day by the voluntary offer of

a previously half-mistrusted dependent to share our efforts, bear the burden of our responsibilities, and contribute towards the triumph of our Empire in the almost certain knowledge that victory must promote to the stability of the existing order of things, and that the prospect of any reward can only be exceedingly remote and uncertain. This satisfaction has been reserved for us; and if we closely examine the circumstances of the offer, and the question of our relations with the Nizam and his State, it will be hard to find any cause for entertaining doubt as to the political significance of the gift, or as to the wisdom of accepting it in the same open spirit of cordial friendship exhibited by the first of Indian princes in both the form and the substance of his proposal.

So far as public opinion may be gleaned from the writings in the press, the appreciation of the Nizam's generosity has been both general and frankly expressed, but there have been some important exceptions both in England and in India. The adverse or unfriendly criticism may be divided under two heads: first, that which states that his Highness has had some ulterior and selfish motive in making this offer; and, secondly, that it is bad policy for us to accept assistance from a feudatory whose very offer is alleged to imply a reflection on the power of the Paramount Government, which would have been impossible a generation ago. It is necessary to make some rejoinder to these criticisms, although it will be more agreeable to the reader if reference be made to them incidentally in the course of my description of events, than if I take them up *seriatim*. With regard to the criticism that the Nizam had some self-seeking design in making this offer, I will first of all say that if the Nizam's offer was a noble one—and that it is a noble offer in itself no one has attempted to deny—and quite uninspired, as is known by the Viceroy, the Resident at Hyderabad, and the Nizam's own secretary, Colonel Marshall, being the original idea of this young potentate—then I will only remark that—all these conditions being

amenable to the test of fact—the imputation of an unworthy motive reflects discredit on the Englishman who makes it. It is neither just nor generous, nor has it any political extenuation. The restoration of the Berars, which is alleged to be the object coveted, depends on an entirely different chain of circumstances. The conditions under which we hold those districts in trust are well known, or can easily be ascertained, and if the Nizam wishes them restored it will be necessary for him to show that he has a good case under the late Sir John Low's treaty of 1853. Or it may be said that there is such a thing as gratitude even in political relations, and that if we accept the Nizam's offer we shall be bound to make him some return. The line of reasoning adopted, therefore, is that the gift should be rejected in order to save our being placed in a position when it would be becoming and natural to evince a grateful appreciation. Although Milton has sung "the debt immense of endless gratitude," this is not an argument that will carry weight with any large body of persons. No generous and powerful people ever learnt to distrust the natural emotions of their own hearts, and when they acquired the art of seeing sinister purposes in the offers of their friends and dependents they were on the downward path to that loss of power and authority which attends the suspicion that is followed by vacillating action and the estrangement of general esteem.

If the argument as to the alleged design of the Nizam in making this proposition is one that should never have been employed, the second reason brought forward in opposition to our acceptance is one that a little careful consideration will show cannot possess much force. Unlike the former, however, it is a fair argument, and one at which neither the Nizam nor his Mahommedan fellow-princes can take umbrage. The Nizam has made an unprecedented offer, and it is of course natural that the Indian Government should weigh carefully all the *pros* and *cons* in deciding what is really a momentous question, and one

which must have an important bearing on our future relations with all the Native States of India, and establish a precedent for successive Indian viceroys and princes. The objection on political as opposed to personal grounds offered to the acceptance of the Nizam's offer may be divided under two heads, but it is much to be feared that the boldness of the Nizam in initiating a new policy instead of waiting to receive his cue from Calcutta, has alarmed some Anglo-Indians of the old school, and raised doubts as to the wisdom of allowing our policy even to seem to follow his. Under the first category come such 'reasons as the impolicy of allowing the peoples of India to suppose that the Central Government is neither rich nor powerful enough to look after the defence of the Indian frontier on its own resources; that, whether we admit it or not, the coming forward of the Nizam in this marked manner is an implied imputation on our policy and activity; and that the benefits accruing from this pecuniary assistance will be heavily compensated for by the disadvantages entailed by the enhancement of the Nizam's prestige, and by the direct participation of a Native State in a matter which has hitherto been the exclusive concern of the Viceroy in Council. Under the second category are suggestions that the Nizam's authority will become an *imperium in imperio*, and that the utilization of the armies and resources of the Native States is fraught with grave danger to the peace of the peninsula and the stability of our power. As expressions of opinion, no possible fault can be found with any of these criticisms, and it is, therefore, necessary to consider them in some detail.

With regard to the reasons arising from the alleged reflection conveyed by the Nizam's splendid offer on our own policy and action, this will not appear very great to those who recollect how prominently the question of frontier defence has been before the Indian public during the last few years, how much has been spent upon the work, and the palpable fact that the financial burden thus

imposed on the Indian exchequer is one that it can hardly bear, especially with a falling currency and an arrested opium revenue. The Nizam did not pretend to discover that the Indian frontier stood in need of military strengthening. He only showed that he had realized the exceptional expenditure entailed by this necessity, and, more than that, absolutely incurred during the last three years, and he declared that he, as one of the parties deriving benefit from this increased security, was willing to bear his share in defraying the expense. The fact that the Indian Government has hitherto borne the whole expense in such matters is no reason why the same course should be pursued when the strain has been increased by circumstances beyond our control, and when the revenue of India shows signs of an incapacity to meet the increased expenditure of that country. If the check inflicted on the opium revenue by what seems a revulsion of taste on the part of the Chinese people in favour of their own opium prove permanent, such munificence as the Nizam has voluntarily shown affords the only escape for the Indian Executive from that most unpopular of all acts, the imposition of fresh taxes, and the search for new sources of revenue.

From this point of view, which seems to be that of common sense, a native Indian statesman has written well and to the point. What Sir Madava Rao has said to the following effect appears to me to show a more statesmanlike grasp of the whole situation than the perverse line of measuring the value of the Nizam's gift, not on its own merits, but by considering how far it implies a reflection on our own policy and proceedings.

"I hope the report is true. I hope the Government of India will cheerfully and gratefully accept the offer. I can see nothing wrong in the offer, or in its acceptance. Probably the native papers may heap adverse criticisms on his Highness, but calm reflection will only result in crediting his Highness with sound sense and judgment in the matter. His Highness's offer is not only good in itself, but excellent as an example. The strengthening of the north-west frontier is as beneficial to all the native princes as to all the rest of India. It follows, therefore, that the



expenses of the measure should be shared by both the princes and the people of India.

“It will no doubt be said that the Government of India is already under an obligation to protect the Native States, and has received, or is receiving, from those States consideration in requital of that obligation, and that there are treaties fixing both that obligation and consideration. But it should be remembered that these treaties were entered into many years ago, and that the circumstances in which they were entered into have now immensely altered. The difficulties of protecting the Native States against foreign foes have now immeasurably increased, and some proportionate readjustment of the consideration in relation to the obligation of protection is rendered desirable, if not necessary. In the nature of things the same service cannot be performed for the same remuneration, except for short intervals, implying continuity of the same circumstances. If the circumstances change, and render the service more difficult, the remuneration must need some readjustment—a readjustment which his Highness the Nizam has shrewdly anticipated and voluntarily offered. The credit of it should not be denied him.”

As a clear and statesmanlike opinion on the whole case, nothing could be better or more to the point, and Sir Madava Rao speaks with the authority derived from the experience of thirty years of Native States from Travancore to Baroda, while as a Madras Brahmin the bias of his mind would not be unduly favourable to the great Mahommedan ruler in the Deccan. Sir Madava Rao praises the Nizam's act, not merely because it shows that his Highness sympathizes with the work of fortifying the Indian frontier, and is willing to bear his share in it, but also because he has “shrewdly anticipated” the time when the Indian Government would find it necessary to invite the Native States to increase their contributions to the Imperial Government. The Nizam is censured by some for having taken upon himself the responsibility of making a spontaneous offer, but certain passages in Lord Dufferin's reply show that some of the thoughts which occurred to Sir Madava Rao had passed through his mind also. The Viceroy wrote in his letter of October 7th :

“This duty” (the obligation of taking precautions for the defence of the frontier) “undoubtedly has considerably added, and will continue to add for some time, to the expenditure of the Government of India ; and it is a convincing proof both of your Highness's *statesmanlike capacity*, as well

as of your generosity, that you should have been the first among the princes of India to recognize the principle that the Native States are as much interested as the rest of the Indian population in assisting the Government to take whatever measures may be necessary to preserve the borders of the Empire from any dangers which may arise from external complications."

In a subsequent address delivered on the occasion of his visit to Kurrachee, Lord Dufferin declared that the Mahommedans of India might well feel proud of the Nizam's loyal and splendid offer. After these emphatic statements of the representative of the Queen-Empress, the petty and narrow-minded criticisms levelled at the offer from certain quarters do not seem deserving of much notice, and I should not waste space in dealing with them but for one consideration.

Strange as it may seem after the Viceroy's admission of "the ready loyalty and goodwill," and "noble example," it is premature to say at the time of my writing this (1st December; much may unfortunately have happened before these lines will come before the readers of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW) that the Nizam's offer has been definitely accepted. The Government is uncertain how to deal with the application of the money, and those who think it ought not to be accepted at all have gained heart of grace from official reticence to put forward their objections, partly based on political tradition, and partly availing themselves of the allegations of personal motive concealed behind the Nizam's offer. Some have even suggested that the Nizam should be informed that his gift will be accepted, but that it will be devoted to some object within his dominions. Not merely would this be a very impertinent return to the Nizam, but those who make it strangely overlook the one condition attaching to the gift. It is given "for the exclusive purpose of Indian Frontier Defence."

The delay in frankly accepting the offer at first was probably due to the apprehension that its announcement would offer some provocation to Russia at a time when delicate negotiations were drawing to a successful close; for,

if there is no reference to the hereditary enemy of Islam in the published text, only Russia can be referred to in the "great military Power advancing towards India." As the diplomatic arrangements of our Government with the Northern Empire can only be those of temporary expediency, the Nizam was able to take the far higher ground of showing that neither he nor the other princes of India have any faith in illusory pledges, and that those who wish to retain their hold on India "must trust," as Lord Dufferin said three years ago, "to their own vigilance and valour." Regarding the matter impartially, it must be admitted that the Nizam's statesmanship stands out in bright colours, and that, if it has not made a great impression on the peoples of India, it can only be because they are so bitterly divided by race and religious differences as to deny merit to the young prince, who has begun so auspiciously a reign which, if it goes on as it has commenced, will place him high on the roll of Indian rulers.

If I am rightly informed that it is at this moment incorrect to say that the Nizam's gift has been absolutely accepted, despite Lord Dufferin's complimentary letter of acknowledgment, this further delay must be due to the desire to ascertain how far the other Indian feudatories are impressed by the example of the Nizam, and to what extent they intend to imitate him. At present only five of the chiefs of the Punjab, Puttiala, Jeend, Nabha, Kapurthalla, and Maler Kotlah, have made any published offers, but it is believed that the Central Indian States are on the eve of making some similar proposition. The Viceroy would then be able to deal at a single stroke with the collective sums of the Native States, and to make a formal announcement as to the intended application of these loyal contributions towards the grand national object of frontier defence. Official reticence must not, therefore, be interpreted as concealing the intention to conclude the incident by declining the Nizam's offer. Not merely has the language of compliment gone too far to admit of this course, but the financial inducements

to avail itself of the offer are too real to allow the Indian exchequer to look askance at such a timely and heaven-sent gift to the official charged with the troublous task of balancing the revenue and expenditure. The further offers that have been made are sneered at, for one reason or another, but this ill-natured criticism is premature, partly because sufficient time (it is only five weeks since the Viceroy's letter was published) has not been allowed for the slow-moving Indian courts to realize the change that has occurred, and to adapt themselves to it, and partly because they, too, have been disturbed in their judgment by reports that the Nizam's gift is not after all to be accepted.

When these doubts have been removed, and after a sufficient time has been allowed for the offer to be made with dignity and without restraint, there is every reason to believe that the great majority of the Native States will not be backward in following the Nizam's example. But, even if they were, their reluctance to assign a portion of their revenue, or their timidity in adopting a decided policy, should rather enhance than diminish the credit due to the Hyderabad ruler. He has shown, in a wholly unexpected manner, that he has a decided policy in our favour, and that he is not afraid to devote the resources of his State to its fulfilment.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, let me point out what is the salient and distinguishing feature in the Nizam's act which marks it as being quite apart from the offers of help and co-operation made by other native rulers and States on occasions of external danger or military operations. It is made in time of peace, and by way of anticipation ; theirs have always come when war had either been declared or had commenced ; and, although the occasion has never been sufficiently serious to justify their acceptance *en bloc*, they have always been told that, should the necessity arise, their loyal offers would be gladly accepted, and their services duly availed of. During the Afghan War it will be recollected that the armies of several of the Northern States

were utilized for military purposes, and that they rendered practical aid in guarding the lines of communication with Cabul through the Khyber and Khurum. So far as precedent goes, it is all in favour of the acceptance of the Nizam's gift, and not of rejecting it, as is alleged by some of the older school of Anglo-Indians, unless, of course, it were to be held that a native prince has no right to make a deliberate and well-thought-out proposition, which can be turned to practical use, while he may in a grave crisis offer in a conventional manner his services, which there would be no time to turn to any beneficial purpose. Nothing could be more absurd than this line of argument. When Russia is at the gate of India every feudatory in India, from Travancore to Cashmere, may come forward with protestations of loyalty and proffers of military assistance, but, with the best intentions in the world, their offers will be more embarrassing than useful to the Government. We might take their pecuniary gifts, but, unless the campaign went smoothly, there would be delay in the transfer of specie from the native to the imperial treasuries. On the other hand, the Nizam has made anything but a conventional offer. He has done something strikingly original, and he leaves entirely to the discretion of the supreme Government the disposal of the large sum of sixty lakhs, which he presents free, subject to the one condition that it shall be devoted to "the frontier defence of India." It rests entirely with ourselves to turn this gratifying gift to the best possible use for the important work for which it has been offered.

Of course there is no doubt that the act of the Nizam has done much to bring the question of the armies of the Native States prominently before the British public, and to impel the Government of India to take up in a serious manner the delicate and complicated problem of associating them in some degree with ourselves in the defence of India. Strangely enough those persons who were most sceptical of the danger alleged to lurk in the maintenance by the Native States of large and unemployed armies are now loudest in

expressing the apprehension that the utilization of these armies in the defence of India will be fraught with danger to ourselves. It is obviously impossible to convince everybody, and every act of the Administration must find a hostile critic ; but the Government of India has to face one of two alternatives. It must either continue to allow the armies of the Native States to remain useless and expensive encumbrances for the people who maintain them, with the certain consequence that they can be made no use of when Russia attempts the invasion of India, or it must seriously commence the task of turning them to account for the benefit of the native rulers, and of India herself. As we cannot help being swayed by selfish reasons—and if not carried to excess they are as laudable in the State as the individual—the further point must be considered—Are the native armies an element of less danger to our rule in their present condition than they would be when they had received some discipline, been appointed to perform a special and assigned work, and had also been stripped of something of their present redundant dimensions ?

Assuming that no change is made in the character of these armies beyond what individual chiefs may accomplish in the way of military reform after the example of the late Maharaja Scindiah, and that we do not attempt to place our relations with the Indian feudatories on a closer basis, it follows, that when Russia reaches that point for which we feel bound to enter the lists against her, this or something very like it will be the position. The princes of India will give expression to their loyalty, and to their desire to take part in the defence of India, and we on our side, while expressing gratitude for the offers, will be compelled to come to the conclusion that they can be of no practical use. The Sikh States may be utilized as they have been before on the lines of communication, but no Indian commander would dream of moving any part of the army of Hyderabad, or of the great Maratha States of Central India, into the proximity of the Russian force. The

only practical outcome that would result from the princes' offers would be that it might encourage the Paramount Government to denude the Native States of the Anglo-Indian garrisons constantly maintained in them, in order that as large a force as possible of English troops and trained sepoys might be sent to the front. Our estimate of the situation must be pressed one stage further. If victory crowned the operations of the English forces, all would of course be well ; but if our arms met with disaster, or even with a check which rumour would magnify into defeat, what would then be the attitude of the Native States ?

The reader can supply his own answer, but it must be remembered that the armies, which are not efficient enough in their present state to be placed opposite the Russian, are quite sufficiently formidable to overcome with numbers isolated and weakened garrisons, to overrun in a few weeks provinces which it took years to conquer, and to embarrass the Government by unexpected attacks, and still more by shattering the theory that we have the opinion of India behind us in defending the peninsula against the Russian. But it will be said that such conduct would be base treachery after all the loyal protestations made to us by these very Indian princes. So it will seem to us ; but impartial judges will take note of the fact that we omitted to make use of their loyalty, and that, instead of providing it with the legitimate and honourable vent necessary to encourage and stimulate all human sentiments, we did our best to stifle it. In India, moreover, the only loyalty that we have any right to expect is that due to the strong and the just, and there is no justice where there is not strength.

The neglect of the Native States, the policy of *laissez faire* or do-nothing, will not contribute to the security of our position in India ; nor will it avert a single one of the dangers attending the existence of armed forces in that country subject to the will and orders of possibly ambitious and unfriendly rulers. Their ambition must be augmented by our persistent determination to prevent its finding the oppor-

tunity of relief and distinction, while the first symptom of defeat or disaster would be the signal for their evincing those feelings of disappointment and hostility which we had done our best to strengthen. The fact I wish the reader to most understand at this stage is this, that the danger to our rule in India from the armies of the Native States exists, and cannot be made greater while it may be reduced by a prompt and well-judged effort to harmonize those miscellaneous military organisms with our own. If we persist in our present policy of excluding these armies from the purview of our strategical schemes, we must not marvel at the result if we find that we have dried up the sympathy and enthusiasm of perhaps the most important fifth of the population of India.

The policy of keeping the Native States outside our plans, of ostracizing them, as it were, can only be justified by the result which depends upon our struggle with Russia being one course of unchequered success without its Maiwands and Penjdeh incidents. The first failure would be followed by a rapidly waning enthusiasm in our behalf, and the first disaster could scarcely fail to be the signal for an ebullition of unfriendly feeling which would be levelled at isolated garrisons, the civilian classes, and all the representatives of British authority. Seeing that we had systematically prevented the Native States having any interest in the matter, it would be very surprising indeed if they entertained any hearty sympathy for the Raj that deprived them of their legitimate share in the defence of the common country. Wounded pride, and not love of Russia, would impel them to rejoice at any successes of the Czar, and to resort to action on their own account. Of course, if our arms were to be uniformly successful, and if we overthrew the Russians more signally than we vanquished the Afghans in 1878-80, there is nothing to fear from the pique of any or all of our feudatories. But does any competent authority believe that, when the fatal day comes, we shall have things quite so much all our own way ; and is it ever wise policy



to act as if all the elements will prove favourable, or on the supposition that our wishes have only to be made to be fulfilled ?

On the other hand, if it is decided to promptly adopt a large policy for the whole of India, and to include the Native States in its system of defence, what are the probable consequences and results ? Will the new danger arising from the disciplining of their armies exceed the advantage of increased numbers and greater harmony between the supreme Government and the feudatory courts ? Shall we be only creating a new force, whose military efficiency will never be considerable, and to this extent raising up a fictitious rather than a real protection for the peninsula ? Will our overtures to the Indian princes to become members of such a military league, as Prussia has devised for Germany, be set down as evidence of a sense of weakness, and of fear of the result of the approaching struggle ? Will the bringing of the native princes into closer alliance with ourselves tend to substitute a feeling of genuine loyalty, not merely to ourselves, but to India, in place of empty protestation, and a belief that the selfish interests of a particular prince may be best promoted by the prevalence of general confusion and disunion ?

It is right that the dangers and disadvantages of the policy should be stated fully and in the first place. In their present condition, and with the Anglo-Indian garrison arranged as to-day, there is no doubt that the native armies are impotent. In time of peace they lock up a large proportion of the European forces ; in time of war those forces would have to be removed, with the result, that the armies would be left without the restraining influence of their presence. They would then only be kept under control by the moral restraint arising from the prestige of victory attaching to our arms. Once that was broken they would declare against us, and it may be said that our discipline would have rendered them a foe far more difficult to deal with. But it must be remembered that we only hold India

by the prestige of victory, and if we are worsted by Russia, the result, whether the Native States have efficient armies or not, will be that our rule will have ended. The real problem to be solved is not how we are to overcome native prejudice, and adjust race and religious differences, but how we are to vanquish the Russians. If we succeed in that, it matters nothing whether the Native States have their present undisciplined levies or well-trained regiments. But in effecting the main object the difference may mean much to us, and every additional guarantee of the fidelity of the ruling chiefs of India must contribute to the chances of a favourable issue. What can be more likely to propitiate their goodwill than to assign them a fixed place in the defence of India, and to offer them a fair share in the honour and reward of victory?

One grand fact underlies the whole question, and that is, the regular garrison of India is too small for its multifarious home duties, and for the defence of an extended frontier in face of a powerful military empire. The first object to be attained is to reduce its home duties without shaking public confidence or seriously diminishing the protection afforded the civil population by the presence in the country of a strong military force subject to the authority of a central Government. It is in this direction that the armies of the Native States may render inestimable services, not only by doing work which now devolves upon the regular Anglo-Indian garrison, but by their Princes' adopting, and associating themselves with, a joint policy which would have as its main object the defence of the peninsula. They would thus lessen the strain on our forces, and facilitate that redistribution of troops which would have to take place in war time. The present distribution of troops was adapted to a very different state of affairs in India from what exists there at present. It applied to a half-conquered and semi-hostile country, in which each State with Maratha or Mahommedan traditions might become the focus of intrigue and more open opposition. But the Indian Mutiny perfected the conquest of India, not merely by showing that the victors were strong

enough to deal with an accumulation of difficulties, but by substituting for a mercenary force the power of the British people as the basis of the authority of the Government.

The danger to English rule in India has been shifted during the last fifteen years from the capitals of Native India to the camps of the foreign enemy beyond the frontier, and for the task of meeting the assault of that enemy our distribution of forces is a strategical anachronism. The most pressing reform in India, from a military point of view, is that our troops should be so arranged as to give them the greatest facilities for reaching the real scene of action, and for becoming acquainted with the region which must witness the decisive struggle. To keep good troops at Bangalore, Secunderabad, and other now useless places, shows that we have made little progress in political instinct. The abandonment of the Morar cantonment is, however, of better augury, and as it frees the Gwalior State (which was left the best native army in India by the late Maharaja Scindiah) from the presence of English troops, it cannot be said that there is much boldness in suggesting the same course for the other States which are not equally well equipped. I would impress on the authorities the great advantage of commencing these changes without delay, so that both the rulers and the inhabitants of the Native States might become accustomed in time of tranquillity to the absence of the garrisons hitherto employed in the vigilant supervision of their movements.

In the execution of this policy, if it is to realize the objects for which it is adopted, the princes of India must be induced to participate as heartily as we ourselves. While they would be entrusted with more work and greater responsibility, a larger share of honour should necessarily fall to their share. They would be placed in a position to give less equivocal and more conspicuous proof of their loyalty than is possible under the present arrangement of things, and as the necessary consequence they would obtain greater credit and distinction as the allies of the English.

and as the friends of India. Nor need the duties of their armies be rigidly restricted to the performance of garrison duties in their own territory. It would not be difficult to employ them on garrison work outside the limits of their State, and in guarding the line of communications whenever an advance into Afghanistan becomes necessary. Over and above this, whenever the armies have attained a sufficient degree of efficiency, small contingents from the greater States might be employed actively at the front with the view of gratifying the princes as much as from any idea of adding to our military strength. Even without this, the Feudatory States can, by a policy of frankness and trust, be enabled to render the most timely and valuable services in the defence of India. They can be utilized so as to relieve one-third of the Anglo-Indian garrison from useless and unthankful duties. They may be employed in the protection of lines of communication. Their utilization, far from encouraging treason, will make loyalty more agreeable and more profitable. If there were any exception to the rule, it would have to pay the penalty of extinction. But I at least do not apprehend any swerving from the strict line of fidelity to the English Raj, for, as I have said, the only doubt, in the native mind of prince and peasant, is whether England or Russia is the stronger. Once the superiority of the English arms is clearly established, the last spark of disaffection will be extinguished, and no internal opponent will think of disputing it for a century. If that superiority is not established, the hostility of the princes will be less if their reputation and pride share in our overthrow than if they were kept rigidly excluded as at present from our military system; but in that event it would matter very little whether this supposition were justified or not. The improvement of the native armies, and their association with us in the task of defending India, must contribute something to the chances of success of our military plans; and if they fail, the situation will not be aggravated. Neither success nor defeat will entail any

penalty. If we are defeated, the worst will have happened ; if we are victorious, no one who knows India will question the accuracy of the prediction that no Indian prince and no collection of Native States would think of disputing the orders of the vanquisher of Russia.

The Nizam's offer has, on the one hand, informed public opinion in England and on the Continent that there is unanimity between the component parts of the great Indian community ; and, on the other hand, it has had the effect of bringing home to the mind of the Government of India that the time is arriving, if it has not absolutely arrived, when the problem of the military federation of the Native States has to be solved, or admitted by inaction to be insoluble. That the problem can be solved if there is no want of will is hardly to be doubted. The princes of India are accustomed by tradition to serve and pay homage to an Emperor; and so long as that ruler retained his vigour, they obeyed his commands without hesitation, and they held their armies and revenues at his disposal. Only when his power became effete did Maratha leaders, Mahommedan princes, and Sikh chiefs abandon their allegiance and fight for their own hand in the dismemberment of the Mogul Empire. Before they ventured to think that the realm of Delhi might be regarded as the fair spoil of the most successful adventurer of the peninsula, the House of Baber had been discredited and weakened by a century of invariably unsuccessful expeditions for the recovery of Candahar, culminating in the crushing invasion of Nadir Shah, and the capture of Delhi. There can be no comparison between the opinion of the British power held by the Nizams, Scindiahs, and Holkars of our time, and that entertained by their predecessors of the resources and capacity of such rulers as Shahs Mahommed and Alimgir. They know that the administration of the country is maintained by the most efficient and capable civil service ever organized by human knowledge and patience, by the presence of an army of 70,000 men which, for military efficiency, is not surpassed

by even the German Guard corps, and that both are recruited from the wealthiest, most energetic, and, let the word be used concisely, most adventurous people in the world.

- I say the Indian princes realize these facts, and if they have any doubts at all, they are only the same as our best continental allies feel, because the country sometimes seems inclined to adopt the Gladstonian doctrines of non-intervention and self-stultification, and to accept Lord Granville's yielding and vacillation as the marks of statesmanlike capacity. If our policy reveals the firm mind that shows consciousness of strength, and the resolution to employ it, no doubt need be entertained of the fidelity of the great princes of India. They will only be disloyal when we are disloyal to ourselves and our history.

The only reason for hesitating about the employment and improvement of the forces at the disposal of the native princes, is a doubt as to their fidelity. Once assured on that point, it is culpable negligence on our part not to foster these feelings of loyalty, and the only way to gratify their self-respect, and at the same time to make their services of some practical use to India and ourselves, is to assign them a place in the Imperial defence of India similar to that occupied in Germany by the minor rulers of the empire. Such a task should not be beyond the organizing powers of our military administrators. For many years, and probably until the first collision occurs between England and Russia in Afghanistan, their forces would be only useful for secondary services, and not for being placed in the first fighting line. Moreover, no one wishes our rule in India to be dependent on native troops, whether in our service or in that of our feudatories. If Russia is to be beaten back, it will have to be by British infantry, by the same troops which carried the heights of Alma and foiled the surprise at Inkermann. Yet, admitting all this, where is the wisdom in neglecting to avail ourselves of the assistance of rulers who will enable us to place more of our own chosen soldiers in front of the invader of India?

In conclusion, it need only be pointed out that the Nizam's offer is one reflecting the highest honour on his Highness. It revealed a rare generosity and statesmanship, and coming from a potentate who was always thought likely to sympathize with Russian aggression, because he would suffer least and probably gain most of all the Indian princes from its success, it is doubly welcome and significant. The cordial message of the Sovereign, and the eloquent acknowledgments of the Viceroy, are an appropriate return for a gift which has done much to solidify Indian opinion, and which can be turned to considerable practical use for the security of India. It has strengthened the links already existing between our Government and that of the Nizam, who is, as he reminds us, our oldest ally in Hindostan, and the impression made by the event, both in Asia and in Europe, is incalculable and profound. For the offer itself, as for the manner of making it, our thanks as a nation are due to the youthful ruler of Hyderabad.

## THE SEA ROUTE TO INDIA.

By the phrase which constitutes the heading of this article, "The Sea Route to India," I mean to indicate the route which, though secondary in times of peace, will become of first consequence in a period of war. Such a route is indeed available now, but not one single step has been taken to render the despatch of troops and war material by it expeditious or effective. We are, indeed, a very peculiar people. Whilst the nations of the Continent are making the most costly preparations for a struggle, the germs of which were contained in the Treaty of Frankfort, and which might be begun at any moment, England, in her calm indifference and studied unpreparedness, resembles a passenger bound to start by the night mail for India, but who, at five minutes before the hour of departure, finds himself still in his hotel, with not a single trunk packed, no cab ordered, and with two miles to drive. This is the case, not only with our naval and military preparations, but with our sea routes. We talk very glibly and unconcernedly of possessing an alternative sea route to India, but, to repeat the simile I have given above, not only is our sea-trunk unpacked, but the clothes have not yet been ordered which are to be crammed into it. We still look carelessly on, driving from our minds every thought of preparation. And this, while France has a fleet almost equal to our own; whilst Italy possesses some of the most powerful ironclads in the world, and is obtaining posts in the Red Sea, which she fortifies; and whilst Germany, closely allied with Italy and Austria-Hungary, and, once more, apparently, with Russia, is engaged, not only in strengthening her navy, but in quietly approaching those very spots on the south-east



coast of Africa which England must hold, if England would possess an alternative route by the Cape of Good Hope to India. I do not say, mind, that at the moment of writing, Germany has actually succeeded in obtaining all the points she is secretly striving for. Fortunately, the most important of all, as will be shown in these pages, still remains without the sphere of her power. But, if an Englishman, if the Prime Minister, if the Secretary of State for the Colonies, were to cast his eyes on the official German map of South Africa, even the map of 1886, he would start back in amazement. In that map, all the German acquisitions are coloured red. The thought which the brain would conceive and the lips would express of the man who, fresh from the contemplation of a map of 1880, were to inspect the map of 1886, could not fail to be akin to the thought which inspired the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh, when on being shown a map of India having all the acquisitions made by the British marked in the same colour, he exclaimed: "It will all become red."

The vaticination of the Sikh ruler was realized. Not very long after his death the kingdom which he had made became encircled by the expressive red border. But, happily, it by no means follows that a result which was the consequence of the dealings of the English with the successors of Ranjit Singh will equally illustrate the rivalry of England and Germany in South Africa. Indeed, we are confident that it only requires action on our part, legitimately vigorous, to obtain for our mercantile marine, for our merchants, and for our fleet, the positions on the coast of South-east Africa which are absolutely necessary for us if we would maintain our commercial hold on the country; and, what is of infinitely greater consequence to us, if we would have available a practical alternative route to India, especially available in times of war, and most profitable, in a mercantile sense, in times of peace.

Before entering upon the main question, I desire to say one word, and it shall be the last word, about the method

of Germany. We ought always to remember, but we are all of us very prone to forget, that the affairs of the German Empire are administered by the keenest political intellect of this century. Prince Bismarck is a man, who, when he has decided upon a policy, never lets go the point he aims at. Whether by straight roads, or by by-paths, he always progresses towards it. Having, by his war-policy, made the German Empire, he directed all his efforts to consolidate it. Interwoven with his scheme of consolidation was the long-promised plan of making a German navy, and of founding a German Colonial Empire. How persistently and how successfully these schemes have been worked since 1872 the world well knows. But though much has been accomplished, much more remains to be done. It is in attempting to do that "much more" that lurks the great danger to British interests. I do not believe that there is in this country the smallest objection to, or jealousy of, German Colonial aggrandisement, provided that, in the measures they may take to accomplish it, the Germans make no attempt to filch from the British that which, either they possess, or which they regard as necessary for the maintenance of their existing Empire. In these days of high-wrought civilization no treaties bind a nation. If ever there was a treaty or compact which ought to have been binding, it was the treaty with France which secured the New Hebrides against the encroachments of either nation. Yet, in a time of profound peace, France, who claims to be the exponent of modern civilization, walked in one fine morning and occupied the New Hebrides. We are far from saying that, in this respect, the German Chancellor would follow the example of France. We are perfectly sure he would not. France will have to evacuate the New Hebrides. Prince Bismarck would never seize a place which he would have ultimately to resign. To use the cant phrase of the hour, such action "is not in his line." But, though his ways may not be ostentatiously forcible they are always quietly effective. He is content, at present,

to employ subordinate agents—a merchant, a scientist, or a traveller—who can be easily disavowed. If, for instance, it were desired at Berlin to obtain by some means or other, legitimate if possible, a port of rising importance held by a friendly Power, pledged to sell that port to Great Britain if it sold it at all, how easy it would be to instruct a syndicate of traders to negotiate for its purchase, whilst the Government should not only hold quite aloof, but should ostentatiously declare that they had no designs whatever on the place. We have had experience of such modes of dealing before, and we may be sure they will occur again in the history of nations. The conclusion I would draw is, that if the British Government desire to derive full advantage from the territories in South Africa they actually hold; if they are resolved, as I believe them to be resolved, to develop, to an extent which will render it invaluable in a time of war, most precious in a period of peace, the alternative route to India, which is the sea route by the Cape of Good Hope, they must be wide-awake; they must watch all the signs on the political horizon; and they must take especial care that when they have decided on a policy, they be not forestalled by a foreign syndicate, humble in its professions, but every move of whose game is dictated in the secret cabinet of the *Chancellerie* of a foreign rival.

Before the opening of the Suez Canal in 1870 the route by the Cape was the trade route to India. To show the revolution effected by the working of M. de Lesseps' great undertaking, it is only necessary to give the figures of the tonnage which finds its way from British ports to India through the canal. In 1870, those figures amounted to 414,545; in 1874, they had risen to 2,428,605; in 1875, to 2,940,708; in 1877, to 3,057,715; until, in 1886, they reached 5,766,030, out of a total, the same year, of 7,294,589. In round numbers, of every 24 tons of shipping which traversed the Suez Canal in 1886, 19 were British. In 1887, a higher figure still was reached. The Indian Trade

returns show that the number of vessels trading, by all routes, to India, was 10,581, with a total tonnage of over seven millions.

For the sake of argument, let us take the figures of 1887. Those figures—in round numbers, 7,000,000 tonnage of shipping—represent the annual trade of Great Britain to the East. At the present moment the greater part of that tonnage finds its way thither through the Suez Canal. But it is, I believe, universally admitted that, in a time of war, we dare not depend on the Suez Canal. It is by no means certain that, with interests all over the world to defend, we should always be able to maintain a preponderating naval force in the Mediterranean. If we did not, the very road to the Canal would be blocked. As for the neutralization of the Canal, there are few, I take it, who regard that an agreement to that effect would be other than a phrase. Would such a neutralization have been respected when Napoleon waged war against combined Europe? That powerful ruler acted on the principle that war neutralized every obligation to an enemy. It is true that since his time the nations of Europe have contracted obligations with respect to belligerent rights very much in advance of those which prevailed during the great war. On paper, certainly, we are more civilized. But the real point is, whether practice has kept pace with precept. The indications undoubtedly are that it has not. Let us take, for instance, the conduct of France—the “Pioneer of civilization”—since 1880. Her foreign and colonial policy have been characterized during that period by a cynical immorality, by a departure from the first principles of justice, never approached even by Napoleon. We need only mention the outrageous attack on Madagascar, the brutal disregard of the rights of nations at Tunis, the war based on brag and bluster forced on China, the piratical occupation of the New Hebrides. To find a parallel to the conduct of this “Pioneer of civilisation” during five years of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we must, going backwards, pass

over the reign of Napoleon ; pass over the entire eighteenth century, until, in the century preceding it, we alight on the year when Louis XIV. seized Strassburg in a time of profound peace.

So much for the practical results of the march of civilization. And, let us bear in mind, the cynical disregard of the first principles of political morality by France does not stand alone. Bulgaria and Central Asia bear witness that Russia runs her very hard, if even she does not surpass her. Then, as to Germany, we are bound never to forget that, from the days of Frederick II. to the year 1870, the policy of Prussia has been a policy of "fraud and falsehood," and that the secret history of the wars of 1866 and of 1870 has not yet been disclosed. Whether a new morality has come in with the new Empire may be doubted. At all events, it has yet to be proved.

In the presence, then, of such evidence, no practical man will dare to rest the fortunes of Great Britain on the assumption that the advance of civilization has rendered it less necessary than it was in the earlier part of the century to take precautions to preserve what we have, to prevent the poaching of other nations on the manors of Great Britain. It is a trite but very true phrase that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Surely we have had warnings enough of the jealousy with which our Colonial Empire and our possession of India are regarded, by three at least of the Great Powers of Europe ! Straws show the way the wind blows. When, in his overpoweringly sensitive desire to remove the slightest cause of disagreement with other nations, Mr. Gladstone submitted the best interests of the country to arbitration, the decision in every case was against us. Foreign jurists determined that we were bound to pay a heavy fine in the Alabama case ; the Emperor of Germany directed that we should make over to America the island of San Juan ; and the President of the French Republic decided, against England and in favour of Portugal, the claim to Delagoa Bay.

Now, it is not too much to affirm that in all of these cases the decisions were unjust. That in the Alabama case has been admitted to have been so, at all events in degree, inasmuch as the award was enormously in excess of the claims preferred by the parties said to have been injured to the United States' Government. That regarding San Juan was so, inasmuch as not only was that island to as great an extent an appendage to Vancouver's Island as the Isle of Wight is to the mainland of England, but the very claim of the Americans to it was based on the forged maps on which the Ashburton Treaty had been arranged. As to Delagoa Bay, the English claim was so strong that, before going to arbitration, the Portuguese Government offered to sell their rights to us for the paltry sum of £12,000—an offer, for refusing which, the Foreign Minister of the day, the Earl Granville, deserved to be impeached. We do not cite these cases to vent our ill-humour. We cite them simply to prove that so great is the jealousy of the nations of the Continent with regard to our Colonial possessions that, even when our claim is transparently clear, they, one and all, will decide against us. To us, arbitration means, and will always mean, surrender. We have held the Channel Islands since the Conquest: they are the last remnant of the inheritance of William the Norman. But, should France claim them, and base her claim on the contention which formed the main contention of the United States to the possession of San Juan, that the islands followed the mainland, and we were to allow the case to go to arbitration, I am confident we should have to cede the Channel Islands.

The conclusion we arrive at is that Civilization is not to be trusted one whit more than was Barbarism. The maintenance of our possessions can only be ensured by the exercise of the same qualities which gained them: by watchfulness, by daring, by enterprise, and by energy. We must not allow our statesmen to be lulled into a false security by honied phrases and protestations. Our South

African steeds are still in their stables. We know, we have had full warning, that they are much coveted by others. We are also aware that amongst those who covet them is one man, the most daring, the most unscrupulous, the most successful, horsestealer in the world. Involved in the safeguarding of that stable are (1) the future of British South Africa; (2) the insuring of a safe and commodious sea route to India. A little vigilance, a little foresight, and a little audacity, will secure us against the machinations of even so adroit a schemer as he to whom I have referred. These are qualities in which our race has excelled. Will they be wanting now?

The future sea route to India will take the traveller now as before from London or Southampton direct to the Cape of Good Hope; thence, to Delagoa Bay, or to Bombay, or to Ceylon, or to Calcutta. We propose briefly to demonstrate the double advantages of this route, advantages commercial, and advantages naval and military; and to point out the means by which they can be permanently secured.

Table Bay, the harbour of Cape Town, is an inlet of the Atlantic, capable of sheltering, during nine months of the year, a very large fleet. It is exposed, however, to the west winds, which blow with so much force during the months of June, July, and August, as to render the anchorage absolutely unsafe. To remedy, in a measure, this defect, large sums have been spent. Between the years 1860 and 1870, the Colony disbursed upwards of two millions in the construction of a breakwater and docks. But the action on the swell of the ocean produced by the west winds will not be denied; and, during the months we have mentioned, ships have to take refuge in Simon's Bay, twenty-three miles to the south of Cape Town. But Simon's Bay, though sheltered from the west winds, has defects which will always prevent it from becoming a perfect harbour. It is quite exposed to the winds from the south, and, though useful as an alternative station to

that of Cape Town during the three months of the year we have indicated, it is more famous for its arsenal.

Of the other harbours all but one may be dismissed with the briefest notice. The ports—Port Alfred, East London, Port Nelloth, Mossel Bay, Port Knysna, Plettenberg Bay, and St. John—are not, any of them, able to shelter or even receive vessels of ordinary tonnage. Durban, the only harbour of Natal, is in the same category. A bar, stretching across the entrance to it, keeps out all the large traders. The only other harbour is Port Elizabeth. But Algoa bay, of which Port Elizabeth forms a part, though convenient in the sense of being roomy, is exposed to the full force of the south-east monsoon, and can afford, therefore, but little protection to shipping.

I conclude, then, that we do not possess, on the southern and south-eastern coast of South Africa one really good harbour ; a harbour, that is to say, capable of affording shelter and protection, at all times of the year, to our marine. That this was so was admitted when we were at war, and was proved by figures which may even now be read with advantage.

We took possession of the Cape of Good Hope the 16th of September, 1795. On the 1st of June, 1794, Lord Howe had destroyed one French fleet: on the 14th of March, 1795, Admiral Hotham had defeated another: on the 23rd of June, the same year, Lord Bridport, off L'Orient, had almost annihilated a third: on the 17th of August, 1796, the Dutch fleet surrendered, in Saldanha Bay, to Sir George Keith Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith. During the same period, that is, between the 1st of June, 1794, and the 17th of August, 1796, one large French fleet of merchantmen and transports had been destroyed or taken by Sir Edward Pellew (8th of March, 1795): another had been taken or destroyed by Admiral Cornwallis (7th of June, 1795): and eleven Dutch East India-men had been captured (19th of June, 1795). These facts will go far to prove that when the British came into posses-



sion of the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the French marine, aggressive as well as mercantile, had received a series of blows which had weakened it enormously ; whilst, the year following, the Dutch fleet surrendered to a British admiral. Nor, be it borne in mind, were these merely transient results. The British followed up their series of successes by destroying another French fleet off St. Vincent, by capturing or destroying the last Dutch fleet off Camperdown, in 1797 ; and by administering a most decisive blow to the French, in the battle of the Nile, in 1798. We mention these facts to prove that at the period when we took possession of the Cape, and for some years after, England was, in very deed, Mistress of the Seas. In that magnificent domain she had not even a rival. Those who had, in previous wars, been her rivals, dared scarcely to show their faces ; and when, after an interval of recuperative peace, they did venture forth, it was only that they might be defeated, more tremendously and more decisively than before. So much did those times differ from the present, that not only was rivalry on the part of any single nation impossible, but England could with the greatest ease have upheld her maritime supremacy against combined Europe.

Yet, despite a maritime supremacy which was absolute, Great Britain was unable, during the period between the capture of the Cape in 1795, and the signing of the Peace of Amiens in 1802, to protect her mercantile marine in the waters between the eastern shores of Africa and the Bay of Bengal. The following table, taken from official sources, will show how ill the Mistress of the Seas fared, in the raid on hostile merchantmen, with her defeated and humiliated rival. The list gives, indeed, the return only from 1795 to 1797, inclusive ; but from the latter year to 1802, and, still more, from the rupture of the Peace of Amiens in 1803 to 1810, the proportion told still more decisively against us. In 1810, the hostile depredations suddenly ceased altogether. There occurred then an event,

full of moment at the time, full of instructive warning for the future, which reversed the positions of the two nations in the waters I have indicated. The event of 1810 affords, then, the keynote to the situation.

To return to the table I have mentioned. I find that in the year 1795 French cruisers captured, in the waters between the south-east coast of Africa and the shores of India, 502 English merchantmen, against 47 French merchantmen captured by English cruisers. In 1796, the French captured 414, whilst the English took only 63. In 1797, the French captures amounted to 562, those of the English to 114. Thus, in the three years indicated, the *Mistress of the Seas* lost 1,475 merchant vessels to the rival whom she had chased round the world, whilst, in the same waters, and during the same period, she took from her only 224. The proportion, far from diminishing, went on, as I have said, increasing to such an extent that the mercantile firms in India subscribed largely to a fund for the payment of rewards to those who should capture individual French cruisers whom they indicated by name. The damages they suffered "might," to use the official language of the period, "be computed by millions." But, after the year 1810, not only did the dread inspired by the French cruisers vanish, but the story of their exploits came to be listened to with a smile.

The reason was simple. From the outbreak of the war of the Revolution to the year 1810 the French possessed a perfectly secure and commodious harbour for their cruisers in close vicinity to the south-eastern coast of Africa. That harbour was Port Louis, the harbour of the Mauritius, then known as the Isle of France. In 1810 an Anglo-Indian force attacked and captured the Isle of France. From that date French depredations on British commerce ceased, and our ships could make, unmolested, the course from the Cape to India.

But, it may be urged, why refer now to an episode of ancient history? Port Louis became British property in

1810, and has remained British since. Between the south-eastern coast of Africa and Ceylon there is—with the exception of Madagascar, to be presently referred to—not one spot of land which could be utilized by an enemy of Great Britain to the same effect as was Port Louis during the great war. The road is clear and secure, free from all possible obstruction.

To this I reply, the road is now, in very deed, clear and secure, but it is not free from all possible obstruction. What that obstruction may be I shall now endeavour to point out.

The damage to British commerce in the Indian seas during the war of the Revolution was caused, and solely caused, by the possession by our principal enemy of a convenient harbour close to the shores of South-east Africa. That is a fact which no sane man will contest. Our enemy had the opportunity, and he used it to our great loss. Given the same, or a similar opportunity, and, in the event of a war, it will be used similarly against us. We go further, much further. We declare that if a similar opportunity were to fall to one of the great Powers, British industries and British interests in South Africa would be as much endangered in times of peace as the sea route to India was, and would be, in times of war.

In a preceding page I have enumerated the harbours of the Cape Colony and of Natal. Of these, for all practical purposes, there are but three, Table Bay, Simon's Bay, and Port Elizabeth, and not one of these is perfect. But if the reader will open a map of South Africa, and, beginning with Port Elizabeth, will carry his eye upwards along the coast, he will, passing Port Alfred, East London, St. John's Road, Durban, and Cape St. Lucia, reach eventually the only natural harbour on the coast, a harbour sheltered from the four winds of heaven, capable of accommodating the largest fleets, and certain to attract to it, by means of railways—the parent-stem of which is completed to the frontier territories of the South African Republic—all the trade of

that Republic, all the trade of the Orange Free State, all the trade of Natal, all the trade, in a word, which has hitherto constituted the export trade of British South Africa. This harbour is called Delagoa Bay. It is the harbour to which Great Britain and Portugal alike laid claim, and which the Duke of Magenta, then President of the French Republic, awarded to Portugal. It is the harbour, their claim to which, before that award had been given, the Portuguese offered to sell to the British for £12,000, an offer which Lord Granville refused, and which will never be repeated were the amount multiplied by hundreds. It is the harbour which the Portuguese, despite the pertinacity with which they held on to their claim to it, have systematically neglected ; which they would have left neglected to the present hour, had not the energy and enterprise of an American gentleman, Colonel Edward M'Murdo, keenly sensible to its enormous importance and its splendid future, connected it with the fertile and gold-bearing lands of the interior by a railway, which, begun in the early months of the current year, was opened for public traffic last month. I propose, now, briefly to consider how this important post might, in foreign, that is to say, in possibly hostile, hands, affect our only sea route to India ; how it would, under the same circumstances, affect our South African trade and the prosperity of the Cape Colony and of Natal. I take, first, the question as it might affect the sea route to India.

I have narrated the circumstances of the last great war which rendered sea-trade between the Cape and India insecure and dangerous, and I have pointed to the certainty that, under similar circumstances, our sea-trade will be similarly hampered. I have shown, likewise, that although no piratical nest can be re-formed at Port Louis, yet that there is a harbour on the east coast of South Africa, capable of sheltering the largest fleets, which does not belong to England, and which, strongly held by a hostile Power, would, in these days when the supremacy of Great

Britain on the seas is not nearly so marked as it was eighty years ago, render the route to India by way of the Cape impossible.

Let us imagine, for a moment, England at war with Russia and France combined, and that, by means which it is not necessary to discuss, France had seized Delagoa Bay. Let us imagine, further, that shortly after the outbreak of hostilities the Suez Canal had been blocked. Great Britain would then be severed from her Eastern possessions. She would be forced either to develop—a difficult operation in time of war—the new Atlantic-Pacific route, or to drive the French from Delagoa Bay. Indeed, so necessary is the possession of that harbour to the security of our alternative route to India, that, in the event of war, we could not dare to allow it to remain in the hands even of a weak neutral Power. We should be bound in self-defence to take it. Our position with respect to Delagoa Bay, let it be remembered, differs widely from that of all the other Powers. To us the harbour is necessary as a means of protecting our trade. To other Powers its possession would be desirable as a post whence to harass and destroy British trade. The position, in fact, may be summed up in a single sentence. Great Britain has the sea-trade with the East, and desires to retain it; the other Powers have not the sea-trade with the East, but they wish to have it; as a preliminary, it is necessary that they should destroy British trade. For that purpose the possession of the harbour of Delagoa Bay is essential. If England have that harbour she retains her sea-trade; if she allow another Power to take it, she loses her sea-trade and her alternative route. That is the exact position.

But, it may be said, even supposing that Great Britain take Delagoa Bay, she will not then possess a safe sea-route between Africa and India, for she will have Madagascar on her flank, and Madagascar is now under French protection. It is most true that that is a circumstance which it would not do to leave out of consideration,

and I have carefully considered it. My remarks regarding it will be very brief.

The piratical attack made by the French on Madagascar subsequent to the year 1880 did compel the Queen of the Hovas to sign, in 1885, a treaty with that nation, in which Madagascar was declared a French Protectorate, and a port on Diego Suarez Bay was ceded to France, to be converted into a naval station. It is also true that the only use to which France designs to put that naval station is to make of it a second Isle of France—a piratical refuge whence to harass and destroy the British sea-trade in time of war. For this state of things there is a remedy, but only one remedy. What France took by force from the Hovas, Great Britain must take by force from France. France will at least enjoy the consolation of reflecting that this is no new process. Her maritime history teems with instances of places occupied by her, only that on the first declaration of war England might take possession of them in their partially developed state. The list is a very long one. We need only mention Lower Canada, Dominica, Grenada, and the Mauritius. We may add that Holland owes to her forced alliance with France the loss of the Cape Colony, of Ceylon, and many other colonies; that to the same fatal alliance Spain owes the loss of Trinidad and other places not less dear to her; and that to the capture of Malta by France, in 1798, Great Britain is indebted for her actual possession of that island. We shall, in the event of war, be compelled to treat the port on Diego Suarez Bay as we treated, when the necessity arose, the places I have enumerated. We shall do this out of no ill-will to France but from sheer necessity. We cannot allow her to possess a port which might be used for piratical purposes on our great trade route to India. France will quite understand this, and will acquiesce, for, as we have said, she is accustomed to the process. Meanwhile, she is quite at liberty to spend her money in fortifications, of which Great Britain will ultimately enjoy the advantage.

So much for Madagascar and the military aspect of the sea-route. I propose now to discuss the question in its other, and, in time of peace, equally or more important relation to British interests at home and in South Africa.

Up to the day, the fatal and humiliating day, when Mr. Gladstone capitulated to the Boers, surrendering, after three successive defeats, to force that which he had refused to yield to entreaty, there had been no attempt whatever to question British supremacy in South Africa. It was patent, undisputed, indisputable. But that fatal surrender not only shook the foundations of the Imperial edifice which for nearly eighty years Great Britain had been gradually, and at considerable cost of blood and money, erecting; it attracted the attention, and awakened the greed for territorial aggrandisement of two nations of Europe; the one, Holland, the original possessor of South Africa, and whose children, the Boers, had to an encouraging extent avenged the blow which had wrested the colony from the mother-country in 1806; the other, the youngest of the great Powers, ruled by a house which, by a policy "of fraud and falsehood," steadily pursued for a century and a half, had made of the Electorate of Brandenburg, first a kingdom, then the centre of a mighty empire; which, whilst consolidating in Europe the territories it had there recently acquired, had quietly built a powerful navy, and was eagerly scanning the map of the world, marking the spots on which she, too, might lay the foundations of such a Colonial Empire, as, whilst giving employment for its surplus population under a national flag, might eventually rival the Colonial Empire of the British. To this nation, especially, the news of the Boer surrender came as a revelation and as an inspiration. The able Minister who had directed its policy for nearly thirty years; who had made of the kingdom an empire; had some years since, when noticing the action of Great Britain under Gladstonian influence, given utterance to the aphorism that "a great nation which once begins to yield its possessions has taken the first step on the path of

declension." Without an hour's delay did that statesman seize the opportunity. He acted in the manner in which he was a proficient. There was no undue display of force. But merchants, peaceable travellers, even devout missionaries, received their instructions; and a gun-boat or a frigate was always near at hand to enable them to carry out those instructions. Thus it has happened, that since the Boer surrender, and mainly in consequence of the Boer surrender, a large portion of the map of South Africa has become encircled with that red line, significant of German supremacy, to which I alluded in the earlier pages of this article. Nor have we the smallest reason to think that the colouring process has ceased. On the contrary we may be absolutely certain that as long as there is any tempting morsel to be acquired, so long will steady, persistent, unostentatious efforts be made to acquire it. We ought to remember, too, that the process on which those efforts are and will be based is the most dangerous of all processes. It is the process of the mole, a process which works by undermining, quietly, secretly, without warning, until, one fine morning, the result is revealed to an astonished world. Then, it is too late.

Now, such a morsel as that we have attempted to describe is Delagoa Bay. In our endeavour to explain to the reader why it is so we must ask him to accompany us for a few minutes to Cape Colony and to Natal.

During the past year, 1886, the Cape Colony imported goods to the value of £3,779,261; Natal to the value of £1,331,115. The exports from Cape Colony amounted for the same period to £7,125,356; those from Natal to £960,290. The total trade of the two colonies amounts, then, to an annual value of £13,200,000, of which all but a fraction of the export trade, and six-sevenths of the import trade, is with Great Britain. The importance of maintaining this trade will not be denied.

Then, again, the taxpayers of this country have expended, in round numbers, twenty millions sterling for the



purpose of maintaining British supremacy in South Africa. It is as well that they should have value for that expenditure, especially when it is clear that such value can be obtained by the exercise of ordinary judgment and foresight.

Again, in addition to the public moneys so expended, large sums have been invested by private individuals in the Cape Colony, in Natal, and in the Transvaal. The annexation of the last-named territory by the British, was the signal for the inpouring of British capital, and it is not too much to affirm that the investments made with that capital have been the main source whence the Boers have derived their revenue. In our own two colonies it is the private enterprise I have referred to which has, in a few years, raised the trade-value from two millions to the figures I have given above. It is, moreover, certain that this trade-value will be enormously increased if the Home Government display ordinary judgment and foresight.

Again, in the Government securities of Cape Colony and Natal there has been invested not less than £25,000,000 of British capital; and of this a sum of about £20,000,000 has been expended on railways and harbours, the revenues from which are increasingly dependent on traffic with the interior. The chief steamship lines have a paid-up capital of £1,500,000.

Again, the discovery of gold in South Africa has led to so large an influx of Anglo-Saxons from England, from Australia, and from America, that it is calculated they already almost equal, and will very speedily outnumber, in the Transvaal, the Boer population. The Boers do not mine: and, as the Transvaal will shortly become the great gold-producing country of the world, the Boers will have, in some way or other, to succumb. Indeed, even since the establishment of the South African Republic, their influence, alike in numbers and in actual and comparative wealth, has been steadily waning.

Let us see, now—for that is the main point of the argument—how all these interests are affected by the uses

to which the harbour of Delagoa Bay may be put. It is on the solution of this question that the prosperity of the Cape Colony and Natal, the trade between Great Britain and South Africa, and the possibility of maintaining the sea route to India in a time when of all others it is most necessary to maintain it, in a time of war, absolutely depend.

Of the value of the harbour itself, it is unnecessary to say more than has been said already: that it is capacious, safe, protected from the four winds, and occupies a central, and, with respect to trade, a commanding position. It is within easy sailing distance of the Mauritius; able, therefore, in time of war, to afford to, or receive from, that island efficient support. In close vicinity to the town are large coal beds: whilst it is connected with the interior by a railway which runs from the harbour itself to the frontier of the Boer territory, a distance of forty-seven miles.

The company which built this railway acquired, amongst others, the following rights: (*a*) the exclusive right, for ninety-nine years, and free of all special taxes on railways, to make and work a railway, telegraphs, telephones, bridges, wharves, and docks, in connection therewith, between the Portuguese sea-coast and the Transvaal frontier, to a distance of 60 miles on either side of the present route; (*b*) entry free of customs' duty, for fifteen years, of all materials, fuel and machinery, for making and working the railway; (*c*) an engagement by the Portuguese Government to pay all cost of repairs for injury to the railway by war; (*d*) the right to fix the tariff of rates in any way the company may think fit; (*e*) the right to acquire the following freehold grants of land from the Government: viz., the land used for the line and the stations; one-half of the lands within 500 yards on both sides of the line; two hundred and forty-seven thousand acres with full mining rights to be selected in the province; one square kilometre at the terminus for wharves; a portion of an island in the bay for a dépôt.

I may add, as a circumstance, tending to increase the value and importance of the railway and the harbour, that a contract has been entered into by a foreign syndicate to extend the existing line from the Boer frontier to Pretoria ; and that arrangements have been made to construct branch lines to tap the Barberton district and other rich centres of industry.

More, much more, might be said of the enormous importance of this railway and of the harbour with which it is the connecting link ; but I prefer that the conviction of such advantages should proceed from a contemplation of the results which must follow if that railway and that harbour were to fall into hostile hands. What I contend, and what cannot be controverted, is the fact that they, the harbour and railway, constitute the true entrance-way into the great industrial centre of South Africa, or, in other words, an entrance-way, which, if held by a commercial rival of Great Britain, would kill every other entrance-way. This is what I propose now to demonstrate.

Let us suppose, for instance, that the enterprising Prince Bismarck were to obtain for Germany possession of Delagoa Bay. We need not inquire as to the means. It belongs to Portugal, and Portugal has the right to sell, or to barter, or to give away, any one of her possessions. Once upon a time she gave England Bombay as the dower of a princess. If Germany have a prince to marry, I doubt not he would gladly accept Delagoa Bay as a bridal gift. The supposition, then, that Prince Bismarck might obtain Delagoa Bay and the territory behind it from Portugal is by no means impossible, more especially if Great Britain continue the *laissez aller* policy she has pursued of late years.

What would happen to British interests in South Africa if such a contingency were to occur ?

We might expect Germany to pursue such a line of policy as that which I now proceed to indicate. First, to obtain a practical monopoly of the trade of South

Africa, she would impose heavy differential duties on articles of British produce, or articles brought in British ships, whilst subsidizing a line of German steamers to the new port ; her real aim being to make Delagoa Bay the port of entry for the whole of South Africa, and by the possession of that port to secure a monopoly for German goods. Secondly, having secured the way of entrance, Germany would endeavour to run a line of railway across the Transvaal so as to intercept and appropriate all trade with the interior. As she would have a secure harbour and a comparatively short line to the rich districts ; whilst the Cape Colony would have a less secure harbour and a very long line ; and Natal, if a shorter line than that from Cape Town, yet a longer line than that from Delagoa Bay, and a most inefficient harbour ; it is clear that the trade of the interior would fall to the possessor of Delagoa Bay.

Surely these considerations will be sufficient to move the British Government to action. If the calamity I have indicated were to happen, trade with the Cape would be diverted from British steamers and from Great Britain ; English Colonial ports and English Colonial railways would lose their customers ; Englishmen who had invested capital in South African undertakings would be ruined ; and that ruin would spread, in a great degree, to the manufacturers of the United Kingdom. Nor would this be the sum of the misfortune. The impoverishment of the two colonies, caused by the diversion from them of their traffic, and the consequent ruin of their inland trade, would re-act on their dealings with the native tribes. These would instinctively turn for protection to the new commercial Power which had ousted England from the trading-ports ; and Colonial Great Britain, rendered helpless by the too tardy awakening of the Mother Country, would be forced to look on in passive despair, exclaiming with King Lear—

“ I have seen the day, with my good biting falchion  
I could have made them skip : I am oid now.”

But that is not the worst. If the possession of Delagoa Bay by Germany prove the ruin of Cape Colony and of Natal, and destroy the trade between Great Britain and South Africa, how will the same cause affect the sea route to India? To that question I have already given the only answer that can be given. That answer may be summarised in a single sentence. With the half-way house to India in the hands of a great Power, and that Power a possible enemy, the sea route by way of the Cape is so dangerous as to be, in time of war, impracticable.

It is incumbent on our statesmen to prevent, to be beforehand with, the catastrophe I have foreshadowed. There is yet time to take the precautionary measures sufficient to stay the disease. It requires but a little prescience, a little courage, qualities which ought to be the distinguishing qualities of men aspiring to occupy the seats of Pitt and of Palmerston, to achieve a result which will secure the gratitude of the present generation, the admiration of generations yet to come. A scheme has, I understand, been under consideration, which, at a comparatively trifling cost, would ensure the country against the evils I have indicated. If it be urged that the Cape Colony is a constitutionally governed Colony, and will doubtless take efficient measures to protect its own interests, I reply that there are other interests besides those of Cape Colony and of Natal. There are the private interests of the British merchants, of the British ship-owners, of the British manufacturers, and, interwoven with their interests, the private interests of the British public. But, soaring above all, are those mightier public interests, affecting every citizen of this Empire, the interests which depend upon the maintenance, in peace and in war, of a sea route to India, free from the dangers which were unceasing when a rival Power possessed a harbour near the half-way house, whence her cruisers could sally to prey upon British merchantmen.

G. B. MALLESON.

## THE HINDU WIDOW.

THE October number of THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of 1886 contained an article entitled "The Hindu Child-Widow," contributed by Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. The writer has been known in India as one who is well acquainted with its people, and sincerely desirous of promoting their welfare. During the past few years a good deal has been written and published on the subject of "the Hindu widow." For want of competent critics, owing to the difficult nature of the questions raised by different writers of varying capacities, and owing to the want of a tribunal before which the issues involved could be brought for solution, much progress has not been made towards a settlement of the question. Although the article above alluded to has not settled and could not settle the question, it has contributed to clear up doubts upon some of the most important points bearing thereon.

Need I say that the writer had no personal interest to bewilder his judgment? He has treated the subject as fairly as a foreigner wishing to do good to this country and its people could have done, and cleared up some doubts which used to be the stronghold of some of the Hindus, from which they threw obstacles in the way of progress towards the just administration of the true Hindu law, and for bettering the condition of the Aryan people in India. For having done so much, the thanks of all true Hindu Aryans are due to Sir William Hunter. Correct information is absolutely necessary on the following points before any one can attempt to master the subject, offer his advice, or take necessary steps to bring about a settlement of them :—

(a) The position which the child-widow occupies in the Hindu families in the latter part of the nineteenth century, viz., whether the child-widow leads an unbearable life, or a bearable life, or a happy life. If her life has been happy, or even bearable, no change need be made.

(b) If she is, however, leading an unbearable life, what are its causes; whether the Aryan religion and laws place her in this position, or whether there is some other tyranny.

(c) If the Aryan religion and laws be the causes, can the Government remove the burden and make her happy?

(d) If something else is the cause, can the Government remove it?

(e) If it can, would it be prudent for the Government to do so now?

(f) Which is the proper tribunal to give its finding upon the aforesaid issues?

(a) As regards the first point, whether the child-widow has been leading a happy, or bearable, or unbearable life, Sir William Hunter says: "The truth seems to be that the child-widow is coming to be regarded from a new point of view in Indian literature. Formerly she was the saint of the family; now she is the martyr of circumstances. The willing ascetic, whose sole business was to prepare for the next world, has become an innocent victim, defrauded of her rights of citizenship in the present world." "We have to deal with great masses of injured women, equal to the whole female population of Scotland." It will be thus seen that Sir William Hunter considers her as "the martyr of circumstances," as "an innocent victim defrauded of her rights," and as an "injured" woman.

Having found that the evil exists, Sir William Hunter holds that (b) "the evil has its root in the system of child-marriage." "The truth seems to be that the Madras Brahmin \* has a sufficient body of authorities on his side to justify a section of his countrymen in adopting his con-

\* The Madras Brahmin referred to is the distinguished author of this paper.—ED. A. Q. R.

clusions, but not sufficient to silence those who rely upon actual custom supported by conflicting texts."

Quoting another authority, the Bengali Brahmin (Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara), Sir William writes, "Finally, he proves that the Veda, which is the divinely-inspired fountain of Hindu law, gives no sanction to the cruel practices of child-marriage and enforced widowhood."

"The British Courts were bound to give effect to the domestic code of the Hindus as they found it. Well-established customs or usages obtained, therefore, the force of law. The result was that many customs, which had long been in a fluid state, quickly crystallized into judge-made jurisprudence. The practice of child-marriage and the prohibition against widow re-marriage were stereotyped by the British Courts as part of the family law of the Hindus; although resting on no sanction drawn from the Vedic texts, and deriving but a questionable authority from the post-Vedic codes."

It is clear that he thinks that child-marriage and enforced widowhood have no sanction of the Vedas, but that post-Vedic codes give them a questionable authority. So far the Vedas are with me and Vidyasagara. But the Vedas are the highest authority, and anything not consistent with, or opposed to them, can never be an authority. On this point Sir William Hunter appears not to have pondered. It is not difficult to assure him, if he has time, that Smritis, Itihasa, and Puranas are perfectly consistent with the Vedas on the points at issue.

(c) On the third question, whether, if the Aryan religion and laws be the cause of the unbearable misery of the child-widow, the British Government can remove the burden and make her happy, Sir William Hunter observes, "When the English assumed the government of India, they gave emphatic pledges that they would leave the religious and domestic customs of the people undisturbed. By degrees they found out that there were three very terrible customs affecting Hindu women." They were child-marriage, infanticide, and "the cruel rite of burning widows on their husbands' funeral pile."



"For three-quarters of a century after Bengal had legally passed under English administration, the new rulers felt their hands tied by the pledges they had given. . . . It was at length admitted that the British Government could maintain the customary and religious law of India only so far as that law did not conflict with its higher duty to protect the lives of its subjects. Accordingly, in 1829, in spite of the remonstrances and solemn warnings of the Hindu community, Lord William Bentinck passed a law declaring widow-burning to be illegal, and punishable by criminal courts. Efforts had already been made to check infanticide, and were now more vigorously enforced. . . . In July, 1856, Lord Canning passed a law to mitigate the appalling sum of human misery thus represented. In spite of warnings and clamours, he legalized the re-marriage of Hindu widows. But he did not venture to preserve to them their civil rights. A Hindu widow, on her re-marriage, forfeits all property inherited from her husband, 'as if,' says the Act, 'she had then died.' Special enactments regulate the marriage of native Christians, and of the new theistic sect of India. But Lord Canning's Act of 1856 remains, for the Hindu population, the law of the land to this day."

On this point the Calcutta Government wrote on the 5th February, 1805, thus :—

"It is one of the fundamental maxims of the British Government to consult the religious opinions, customs, and prejudices of the natives, in all cases in which it has been practicable, consistently with the principles of morality, reason, and humanity. . . . Should that practice (suttee) be not grounded in any precept of their law, the Governor-General in Council would hope that the custom 'might gradually, if not immediately, be altogether abolished.'"

From these remarks it is clear what his finding is upon the third question (c), and it is this. If the Aryan religion and laws do conflict with the principles of morality, reason, and humanity, the Government should interfere, and has interfered, and set the Aryan religion and laws at defiance.

While admitting the correctness of this principle, I must say that Sir William Hunter is not right in stating that the Government has set the Aryan religion and laws at naught in certain cases.

No doubt it prohibited by legislation the widow-burning and infanticide, and legalized widow-marriage; but by passing these legislative provisions the Government have respected the Aryan religion and laws instead of acting against them; for these enactments were in perpetual accord with the Hindu religion and laws.

As regards the issue (*d*), that if any other thing than the Aryan religion and laws have been the cause of the unbearable hardship and tyranny upon the child-widow, can the Government remove its cause, Sir William Hunter has fully answered it in the affirmative; *a fortiori*, it must be held that it can do so, if religion and laws be opposed to morality, reason, and humanity.

Regarding the point (*e*), whether it would be prudent for the Government to do away with the tyranny, Sir William says, that "when native public opinion is sufficiently mature to warn the British Government in taking legislative action, I sincerely trust that legislative action will be promptly taken." "If the Indian Legislature were at present to attempt any large measure, dealing with child-marriage or enforced widowhood, it would do so in defiance of its constituted advisers, and in the teeth of native opinion." He thinks that no legislative action should now be taken as native opinion, and the constituted advisers of the Government are opposed to any legislation. I am not prepared to admit that the conclusion arrived at by Sir William Hunter is correct. Native opinion, and the constituted advisers of Government, will never sanction any change in the existing state of things. They have never effected any change for the better. The history of British India for the past one hundred years proves this beyond doubt. A handful of "just and philanthropic" Englishmen, with one or two leading natives, had to fight against suttee, infanticide, and a hoard of crimes not sanctioned by the Hindu religion and laws, supported as these infamous institutions were by the constituted advisers of the Government, and the largest majority of natives.

He says :

"The case, therefore, stands thus. The appeal back from the modern practice to the antecedent texts has been made by learned Brahmins of the reform party. The most orthodox Hindus acknowledge that such an appeal is sanctioned by their law, and they are being compelled to admit that it has been made with success. But there is, practically, no appeal back to the Veda from Privy Council rulings and British judge-made law.

... The remedy provided by our modern juristic system for such a case is fresh legislation. It is, therefore, to the Legislature that the reforming party turn for relief."

Here he is perfectly right.

Sir William Hunter answers the last question by holding that native opinion is the grand tribunal to settle what should be done, and ask the Legislature to enact accordingly. If Sir William Hunter considers, as he has done, that the two Brahmins he has named represent any native opinion, he is sadly mistaken, and the solution of the question must be deferred to doomsday.

He is, however, of opinion that on the three following points partial legislation may be made, but that nothing should be done until the Hindu community moves, viz., (1) legalizing the marriage of Hindu girls after they have attained maturity ; (2) enacting that, unless a Hindu husband left his property to the widow on the express condition of her perpetual celibacy, she should not, by re-marriage, forfeit the interest conveyed to her by the will ; (3) enacting that where a widow has an absolute power of disposal in movable property inherited from her husband, that property should be exempt from forfeiture by reason solely of her re-marriage. My impression is that the importance of the subject, and such public opinion thereon as we have, are sufficient for the Government appointing a Commission to inquire and report what the Hindu law is on the subject, and, if it be opposed to the prevailing custom, whether the result of the latter is sufficiently mischievous, whether there is any harm in administering justice according to the Hindu law, and if so, whether a law like the Bill affixed should not be passed.

Sir William Hunter points out that—

(1) The revivalists of the Hindu law lack central organization ;

(2) Are wanting in the establishment of associations in the minor towns ;

(3) In the courage of their convictions.

He recommends (1) the revivalists joining with the Brahmos, and (2) giving up caste.

I agree with the writer of the article in believing that we lack organizations, but respectfully decline to secure the desired object by separating ourselves from our co-religionists, and joining any body who may be beyond the pale of Hindu religions.

I must respectfully point out to Sir William Hunter that his impression on one more point is not correct. He says that the authorities I have quoted are not sufficient to silence those who rely upon actual custom, supported by conflicting texts. I think that these remarks were penned before he read my paper on the subject of when gotra changes. My authorities are so conclusive that the Pandits of Poona did acknowledge in a large assembly that they were satisfied that the gotra does not change on the first day as they had believed. Indeed, this one admission nearly settles the whole question. It was a simple one, and there are undisputable authorities to settle it only in one way, viz., that the belief hitherto held was incorrect. If this one point were formally settled by inviting the opinion of Brahmins, and placing them before a small body of eminent lawyers for their decision, and if their decision be in support of what I say, a small enactment to that effect may be passed; and the whole controversy would then come to an end, and there will be no virgin widow in India, whose number now is acknowledged to equal the female population of Scotland.

At the same time, it is the duty of every Aryan to bring about the establishment of divers associations. These should found a central association and several branch associations, and their members should prove themselves men having the courage of their convictions. Periodical meetings and delivery of lectures, holding of discussions, meeting the opponents' statements, breaking down boycottings, and similar measures should be had recourse to.

To sum up, Sir William Hunter is of opinion that the position of the child-widow is really miserable, and she leads

an unbearable life ; that its cause is not the revealed scriptures of the Hindus, but custom which had been in a fluid state, and was crystallized into judge-made laws ; that the British-Indian Government can remove the cause by legislation, but it should not do so now in defiance of its constituted advisers, and in the teeth of native opinion.

I agree with him in all his views except the last, because history has shown us that the constituted advisers would never advise the Government to move in the matter, and because native opinion—if, by that term, the opinion of every Hindu is meant—would never be for any change. If, however, intelligent native opinion is meant, it has not yet been properly obtained or understood by Government.

What should be done in the matter is explained in the copy of a memorial which is being signed for presentation to the Government of India, and which is appended to this paper. There is no other way of obtaining the correct view of the Hindu religion and laws and the opinions of such Hindus as are capable of forming any correct opinion. What is asked therein is the appointment of a Commission composed of Hindus and Europeans of opposite views, official and non-official, old and new Sanscrit Pandits or learned men, to ascertain and report whether the principles of the Bill appended to the petition are consistent with Hindu law. If the report be in the affirmative, legislative action should at once be taken.

In conclusion, I must say that I am not prepared to admit the correctness of the statement that there is not now a very strong minority which would justify the Government in enacting a declaratory law stating what is Hindu law on the question at issue. Sufficient has been done by the minority, but what is wanting is a Bentinck or a Canning. I say this advisedly, for the opposition they had to meet was far more formidable than any which may be encountered now, and their Government was considerably weaker than the present one.

Whatever the result has been, Sir William Hunter

is entitled to the thanks of the Hindus for the trouble he has taken in writing the able article I have been commenting upon, and for the sympathy he has shown to the millions of our most unfortunate sisters whose fate was better than now before the abolition of suttee.

R. RAGOONATH.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY, AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN  
COUNCIL, CALCUTTA, &c., &c., &c.

*The Petition of the undersigned Hindus in India,*

SHEWETH,—I. That in enclosing copies of works written by one of us, your petitioners beg to refer you to Act XV. of 1856, whereby the marriage of Hindu widows has been declared legal and valid, and to state that your petitioners are of opinion that the object of the Legislature has not been largely realized owing to the character of certain provisions of this enactment.

2. That under the Law as now administered,

(a) It is not illegal to marry a girl before ten years old :

(b) A marriage is complete to such an extent on the first day of the marriage ceremonies, as to sever the bride immediately, that is, after the Saptapadi ceremony is performed on the first day of marriage, from her father's Gotra (gens) to make her one with her husband in Gotra (gens), Pinda (right to offer or partake funeral cakes), and Sutaka (liability to pollution on births and deaths), and to make her entitled to succeed to her husband's estate, if he happens to die after the completion of the aforesaid ceremony ; and,

(c) After inheriting the estate, if she is guilty of unchastity, she should not be deprived of the estate, while she must forego all her claims to the estate if she marries again, and be deprived of it, if she has already succeeded to it.

3. That the following are the results of this state of the Law :—

(a) Infant marriages prevail to a large extent, and girls of seven or eight years of age are married to bridegrooms of eight or ten years of age ; and, as mortality among children is very great, and one-half of the human race die before coming of age, a large number of married girls become child-widows. As such, they succeed to the estate of their child-husbands, whereupon the parents of the widows argue thus : "If we entail perpetual widowhood on the bride, under the Law as administered now, the bride continues to have a claim on the estate of the deceased. But if we give her again in marriage to another, we should be depriving her of her claim on her deceased husband's estate, a claim which is by a decision of the Privy Council recognized to belong to her, however unchaste she may become after widowhood, and we should ourselves incur the liability of maintaining her till she is remarried. It is best, therefore, to entail upon her perpetual widowhood."

4. That your petitioners hold

(a) That Hindu Law does not legalize a marriage between a girl of less than ten years of age and a man before his coming of age, thus doing away with infant marriages and child-widows.

(b) That the same law rules that a child-widow is not of the Gotra, Pinda, and Sutaka of her husband before he consummates the marriage with her, and that she therefore does not succeed to the estate of her deceased husband, or depend upon his family for her maintenance, thus in a way forcing the guardians of the child-widow to give her in marriage to a second bridegroom.

(c) That according to Hindu Law, a widow is the trustee to the estate of her deceased husband, and is entitled to hold it, so long as she continues a chaste widow, or so long as she remains a remarried woman, thus preventing her from leading an unchaste life either as a widow or otherwise.

5. That the evils of infant marriage and enforced widowhood have greatly demoralized the Hindu nation is so well known to Your Excellency in Council, that your petitioners do not wish to dwell upon it here.

6. That to remedy these evils, your petitioners believe that a modification of the existing state of law in accordance with Hindu Law is absolutely necessary.

7. That, under these circumstances, your petitioners feel a great necessity for legislation modifying the existing Law.

8. That your petitioners beg, therefore, to submit a Draft Bill for your consideration. Your petitioners do not ask Your Excellency in Council to adopt it at once and pass it into law, but request the Government to be pleased to ascertain, by means of inquiry through a Commission composed of Hindus and Europeans, both official and non-official, old and new Sanscrit Pundits, whether the provisions of this Bill are consistent with Hindu Law, and, if the Government be satisfied that the Bill is consistent with Hindu Law, then to enact it as a statute which will afford relief among others to, at the least, about ten millions of unfortunate Hindu women who are compelled under the so-called Hindu Law as now administered, to lead a disgraceful, sinful, and criminal life; or the most painful, discontented, and miserable life—a result which ought not to be tolerated to exist under a just, wise, and humane Government.

Your petitioners as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

### BILL.

An Act to define and declare the rights acquired according to Hindu Law from marriage, and to provide rules for the registration of its celebration.

Whereas certain provisions of the Hindu Law appear to have been not correctly understood; whereas, according to the Hindu Law, marriage is optional with both the sexes; whereas the marriageable age for the male is from his sixteenth year, and that for the female is from her eleventh year, and no marriage is so complete until after actual cohabitation as to make the bride one with the bridegroom in Gotra (gens), Pinda (right to offer or partake funeral cakes), and Sutaka (liability to pollutions on births

and deaths); and whereas no change takes place in the civil status of the couple, and no rights of inheritance, &c., to the property of either party are acquired until sexual intercourse takes place :—

It is enacted as follows :—

- I. Marriages contracted between Hindus shall become so complete *after* sexual intercourse has taken place, that all civil rights of inheritance, maintenance, and the like, shall thenceforward accrue to either of the contracting couple, and not before.

II. A woman who may have had sexual intercourse with any man other than her husband, shall, after conviction of this offence, by the District Criminal Courts, or by such competent judicial tribunal as the Government may appoint, be liable to be disinherited of the property obtained by her under any of the provisions of the Hindu Law before she committed the aforesaid offence.

III. The contracting parties, who may complete their marriage by consummation, as aforesaid, shall, within fifteen days from the date of nuptials, sign their names, either personally or by a duly authorized agent, in a book to be kept for the purpose in the office of a Sub-Registrar of Assurance, or where there is no Sub-Registrar, in that of the Local Village Munsiff, in evidence of the fact of the completion of their marriage. Every such Sub-Registrar or Village Munsiff shall keep a book in his office and allow any person, of whose identity he is satisfied, to sign in it at any time prescribed for keeping open his office. He shall not demand any fee for the same. Each Village Munsiff shall send daily extracts from this book to the Sub-Registrar.

If the parties choose to sign this book at their houses, they may do so on payment, if demanded, of the travelling charges of the Sub-Registrar from his office or house and back.

The book referred to in the preceding clause shall show the names of the married parties, their ages, the Gotra of the bridegroom, that of the bride's parents, their names, their places of residence, the date of the aforesaid completion of marriage, if it was the bride's first marriage, the fact of the marriage being the first or otherwise, the name of the bride or bridegroom of the previous marriage or betrothal, if any, and such other information as the married couple may wish to enter.

IV. Such entries, as are referred to in the preceding section, shall be *primâ facie* evidence of the fact they record.

V. No woman shall be prosecuted for the offence mentioned in Section II. of this Act, except by her husband or by his next male heir if the husband be dead.

VI. The next male heir referred to in the above section who may prosecute a widow shall forfeit all his rights of inheritance, should he be convicted of having prosecuted her maliciously or without reasonable and lawful grounds.



## BALÚCHISTÁN AND THE "NEW INDIAN PROVINCE."

MORE than ten years have elapsed since the conclusion by Lord Lytton of the treaty of friendship between the British Government and His Highness Mír Khudádád Khán, Khán of Kalát—an event followed by the occupation of his frontier fort of Quetta by British troops, the re-establishment of the Political Agency of Balúchistán, and the appointment of Major (now Sir Robert) Sandeman to the post of Governor-General's Agent.

Since then two Afghán districts adjoining Quetta, Pishín and Sibi, and their dependencies, assigned to us in 1878 by the Treaty of Gandamak, have become British territory, and included in the jurisdiction of the Agency \* ; a railway has been constructed from Sakkar in Sindé through the Kachhi desert to Sibi, with a loop-line through the Bolán Pass to Quetta, and from Sibi up the Nári gorge and the Harnái valley to the Pishín plateau, and onward to the entrance of the Khojak Pass ; a road has just been completed through the Bori valley, connecting Pishín with the Punjab, and a cantonment of British troops located midway at Lorelei—in a country which, fifteen years ago, was almost as unknown as the interior of Africa. Meanwhile court-houses, post-

\* Within the last few weeks the Assigned Districts have been formally attached to British India, and made into a new province under the name of British Balúchistán, of which the Governor-General's Agent for Balúchistán is *ex-officio* Chief Commissioner. But the districts have been occupied and administered as British territory for the last nine years, and the object of the change now made is simply to enable the Government of India to legislate for the territory. Seeing that the population of the new province is almost entirely Afghán, the name British Balúchistán does not appear very happily chosen.

offices, dispensaries, rest-houses, bridges, have been built; new townships have sprung up; forest administration has been taken in hand, tribal disputes settled, and peace and order maintained throughout a territory which, for twenty years preceding our appearance, was the scene of anarchy and bloodshed.

In other words, great events have happened, and much important and interesting work has been accomplished, yet, strange to say, up to the present time, no general report by the Agent of his proceedings, or account of the territories in his jurisdiction, has seen the light.

In these circumstances a brief account of Balúchistán and the New Province, and of the work done there during the last ten years, may be of interest.

#### EXTENT AND LIMITS.

BALÚCHISTÁN, "the country of the Balúches," in its literal sense, includes all the space between lat.  $25^{\circ} 30'$  and  $30^{\circ}$  N., and long.  $60^{\circ} 30'$  and  $67^{\circ} 30'$  E., with extensions on the north-east and south-west, into British territory on the one side, and Persia on the other. But in a political sense—the sense in which the term is used by the Government of India—it may be defined as the mountainous region, west of the Indus valley, bounded on the north by Afghánistán and our New Province, on the east by Sind and the Punjab, on the west by Persia, and on the south by the Arabian Sea. It includes the high plateau Kalát (the Khán's special domain), Quetta (his most northern district), and extensive tracts of hill, plateau, and plain, occupied by tribes, chiefly Bráhuí and Balúch, recognizing him as their hereditary suzerain. Its area is more than five times that of Switzerland; in shape it resembles the section of a vase, and it has a coast-line of nearly six hundred miles.

Of the two districts composing BRITISH BALÚCHISTÁN, Pishín is immediately north of Quetta. It includes the Pishín valley, 5,000 feet above sea-level, and the mountains be-

yond, as far as the western or further slopes of the Khwája Amrán range, and probably the northern slopes of the high plateau of Toba down to the valley of the Kadanai. Its area is approximately 3,600 square miles.

The district of Sibi and its dependencies—now officially known as the district of Tal Chotiáli—adjoins the east side of Pishín and Quetta. It includes not only Sibi itself, a lowland valley at the mouth of the Nári gorge, but a number of valleys connected with it; some, such as the Záwar or Harnai valley, leading from Sibi up to the Pishín highland; others, such as the valleys of Bori, Tal Chotiáli, and the Khetrán country, extending from west to east to the frontiers of the Punjab. The exact limits of the district have not as yet been accurately determined, but the area actually occupied may be approximately taken at 7,500 square miles.

These districts, it will be perceived from the map, though politically distinct from Balúchistán, are geographically part of the same region—Sibi being a continuation of the great Kachhi plain, and the Pishín valley an extension of that of Quetta—cut off from Afghánistán by the Toba plateau, the Khwája Amrán range, and a broad tract of desert.

#### POWERS OF THE AGENT.

In respect to Balúchistán the Agent exercises no direct administrative powers, but acts as adviser of the Khán in important matters, and, in case of disputes between the Khán and minor chiefs *inter se*, he exercises, under the late treaty, the powers of an arbitrator, and sees that the customary laws of the confederacy are duly maintained. Over the districts of the New Province, and also the district of Quetta—for which the Khán has agreed to accept an annual quit-rent—the Agent has full administrative powers, but they are exercised, especially in the case of outlying tracts, with the greatest caution and the least possible interference with existing customs.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF TERRITORY UNDER AGENT'S  
CONTROL.

The general aspect of the territory, thus placed under Sir R. Sandeman's control, is not inviting. Speaking generally, it may be described as a region of arid mountain ridges, long sterile valleys, dry water-courses, and bare plateaus, descending gradually to the sea, with here and there a fertile tract reclaimed by irrigation, and a desert in rear stretching to the valley of the Halmand. Along the 600 miles of its surf-bound coast, there is scarce a harbour worthy of the name, and throughout its length and breadth, from the sand-dunes of Sonmiáni to the slopes of the Toba plateau, from the wastes of Gandáva to the western edge of the Khárán desert, there is no river of permanent flow larger than a good-sized mountain stream. Of the streams which drain the highlands, some, such as the Nári, the Bolán, the Mulá, on reaching the eastern plain dissolve in a network of irrigation channels, giving a fringe of verdure to a treeless waste; others, such as the Lora of Pishín, the Mushka of eastern, the Mashkel of western Makrán, find their way into the desert and disappear in swamps; others, such as the Dasht, the Hingol, the Puráli, the Hab, have courses leading to the sea, but for the greater part of the year their beds are dry, or nearly dry. With rain in the hill, indeed, the scene changes. The channels soon fill with raging torrents, and, should the rain continue, destructive floods ensue; followed, perhaps, by a plenteous crop of cholera, dysentery, and fever. But, as a rule, the rainfall is as scanty as it is uncertain; the summer heat of the plains are intense and sometimes deadly; the winter cold of the higher plateaus is severe and searching. The forest trees—chiefly juniper, acacia, wild olive, pistacio, and tamarisk—save in a few favoured localities, are sparse and stunted; and the mineral resources, so far as is known at present, very limited; a petroleum well at Kattan, not far from Sibi, traces of lead at Sekrán, and copper in Las Bela, some

antimony, gypsum, and sulphur of doubtful value, and a few thin seams of decomposed coal in the Bolán Pass and hills adjacent, being all that can be quoted ; while the total population does not, it is believed, exceed 500,000 souls, or five persons per square mile.

But this general and somewhat discouraging description is subject to considerable qualification. Wherever irrigation is possible, whether by ducts from mountain streams, or underground channels (*kahrezes*),\* or reservoirs for storing surface-drainage, or dams, or wells, the soil is eminently productive. In the higher plateaus, such as Kalát, Quetta, Mastung, and Pishín, in the upper highlands ; and those of Sohráb, Zehri, Bagwána, and Khozdár, in the lower ; the fruits and products of Southern Europe flourish, the grapes and melons of Mastung being specially renowned ; at Dasht and Panjgúr, in Western Balúchistán—thanks to a fertilizing deposit from their rivers when in flood—corn, cotton, grapes, and dates, are produced in abundance ; and wool of superior quality—similar to that of Karmán—comes from the hill-tracts both of Balúchistán and the Assigned Districts. Gulistán-kahrez, in Pishín, is described by Sir R. Temple as a “ lovely place, with watercourses, canals, and gardens,” and in the valleys of the Lora and its tributaries, and those connecting the basin of the Lora with the plains of the Punjab—the Bori, the Tal Chotiáli, the Barkán—are many highly-cultivated tracts. Forests of juniper clothe the hill-sides between Pishín and Lorelei, and luxuriant growths of cypress and other trees were noticed by Sir M. Biddulph on his return march to India by the Bori valley ; while the general want of verdure and absence of picturesque scenery is, in a

\* *Kahrezes* are underground channels through which water is brought from a water-bearing stratum at a gentler slope than the surface soil, which is ultimately reached. They are sometimes two or even three miles in length, and have shafts about every hundred yards. This mode of bringing water for irrigation is common in Afghánistán, Persia, and Balúchistán. In the Assigned Districts *kahrezes* are constructed by a special class of Afgháns of the Ghilzai tribe.

measure, compensated for by the weird forms, grand outline, and rich colouring of the rocks and mountains.

Lastly, the summer climate of the higher plateaus, though somewhat trying from diurnal extremes of temperature, and inferior to that of Himalayan hill-stations, is far better than that of the plains of the Punjab; while the climate of the valleys of Bori, Tal-Chotiáli, and others of similar elevation, is delightful in the cold season, and very tolerable in the hot.

#### PHYSICAL FEATURES OF BALÚCHISTÁN.

Balúchistán is geographically divisible into four distinctive tracts:

1. On the north-east a low alluvial plain, 120 miles in length and 9,000 square miles in area, lies at the foot of the mountain region which bounds it on the west and north. This plain, known as the Kachhi, is really an inlet of the valley of the Indus, cut off from British territory by a strip of desert from 20 to 40 miles in width. It is almost rainless, and during eight months of the year intensely hot, but as it is fertilized on the west and north by streams and torrents from the hill-country, it is the most valuable portion of the Khán's territories. Kach Gandáva, its capital, is his headquarters in the cold season, but Bhág is the most flourishing township. For years preceding the treaty of 1876, Kachhi suffered greatly from raids by Marri and Bugti freebooters, and the civil war between the Khán and his Sardárs. All is now at peace, and prosperity is advancing rapidly.

2. On the west of the Kachhi is a mass of mountain ranges from 30 to 200 miles in width, known as the Bráhuic plateau, running in parallel lines from north-east to south-west, from the Toba plateau in Pishín to the sea-coast—the highest point being Tákátu, north of Quetta, 11,390 feet above sea-level. This mountainous tract is divided into four provinces or districts: (1) Sarawán, the

upper highlands, containing the plateaus of Mastung, 6,000 feet above sea-level, and Shál or Quetta, 5,600 feet, held by a group of Bráhuí tribes under the hereditary headship of the Raisáni chief; (2) the high valley of Kalát (the Khán's special domain), 6,800 feet above the sea, with a fortified *miri*, or palace, and a squalid town of 14,000 inhabitants; (3) the Jhalawán, or lower highlands, very sparsely populated, but containing several fertile valleys, such as Sohráb, 5,500 feet above the sea, Zehri and Bagwána, 4,400 feet, Khozdár, Wad, and Nál, of similar elevation, held by another group of Bráhuí tribes, of which the Zehri chief is the head; (4) Las, or Las Bela, the lowland tract on the sea-coast, of which the Jám, or chief, has federal relations with Kalát. Its principal towns are Bela, the capital, and Sonmiáni, the sea-port, at the embouchure of the Puráli stream. Both towns are insignificant.

The Bráhuíc plateau is connected with the plains of Kachhi by a number of passes through rifts in the ranges by which streams find an outlet; of these the Bolán Pass, on the north, 60 miles in length, and the Mulá Pass, on the south, 102 miles in length, are the principal.

3. West of the Bráhuíc plateau is another mountain system, the ranges of which run parallel to the sea-coast, thus connecting the south-western portion of the Bráhuíc plateau with the south-eastern prolongation of the highlands of Persia. This maritime mountain system is termed the Balúch plateau, and presents some singular features. For sixty or seventy miles\* from the sea the ground-level rises, at first very gradually, but afterwards more rapidly, to an altitude of 500 feet. Beyond this is an abrupt scarp of 1,500 to 2,000 feet, behind which there is a gradual ascent of 500 more to the foot of a second scarp of about the same altitude as the last. The summit of this last scarp forms the water-parting between the basin of the Halmand and the Arabian Sea. The mountains rising from the plateau are of inferior elevation to those of the Bráhuíc

\* St. John's "Sketch of the Geography of Western Balúchistán."

plateau on the one hand, and the Persian highlands on the other, the highest point being the summit of the Siánah Koh—7,000 feet above the sea.

The tract between the sea and the first scarp is called Makrán; on the coast are three small ports—Ormára, Pasni, and Gwádar, the latter belonging to the Chief of Maskát. Inland are numerous long and narrow ranges parallel to the coast, forming extensive valleys, for the most part sandy and barren, the exception being the long valley lying at the foot of the first scarp. This strip is well-watered and fertile, with numerous villages and date-groves, forming a natural highway between the Persian and Trans-Indus mountains. Here is situated Kej, the so-called capital—a cluster of forts and villages.

Between the first scarp and the second is the basin of the Mashked or Mashkel river, which, rising in the Persian highlands, flows south and east through Western Balúchistán, then, bursting through the Siánah Koh, finds its way into the northern desert. In this basin is the fertile valley of Panjgúr, watered by Rakhshán, a tributary of the Mashkel. Further east are the districts of Kolwah and Mushka, sparsely populated and almost waste, owing to internal feuds, but capable of considerable development.

4. North of the second scarp is a desert tract extending some 200 miles to the valley of the Halmand, believed to form the northern boundary of Balúchistán. The general slope of the desert is towards the north-west, but it contains several large depressions called Hamún—recipients of the drainage of the hills on either side. On the north-west the Hamún-i-Zirreh receives the waters of the Shela river; in the centre the Hamún-i-Mashkel, the waters of the Mashkel; on the north-east the Hamún-i-Lora—the drainage of Pishín. In the vicinity of these depressions, says McGregor, there is much cultivable land, water being quite near the surface; and if the district could be protected from the raids of Kharánis, Nháruis, and Sarhaddis, it might easily be populated.



On the right centre of the desert, in a tract watered by the **Bado** stream, and sometimes included in Sarawán, is Kharán, the focus of trade routes converging from India, Persia, and Afghanistan, and well known as the headquarters of Azád Khán, chief of the Nashirwáni tribe, for years the enemy of Kalát and terror of the border villages, whose conversion from a determined foe into a useful friend is not the least of Sir R. Sandeman's achievements. On the north-east, by the Hamún-i-Lora, is Chageh, and further east is Nushki, a pastoral settlement, on the edge of the Sarawán highlands, with a small nomadic population, but possibly a great future.

#### POPULATION AND LANGUAGE.

The population of Balúchistán was estimated by Hughes, in 1877, at 350,000 souls. The peace and prosperity of the last ten years, and the presence of British troops, have probably increased it largely.

Of the races comprised in it, the most widespread and numerous (as already mentioned) is the Balúch, a nomadic race speaking a Persian *lingua rustica*, overlaid, in varying degree, with Sindí and Punjábí words. There is no written literature, and the dialects differ widely, a Nháruí Balúch from Makrán being hardly intelligible to the Rind Balúch from Gandáva or the north-eastern hills. The sub-tribes are numerous, and many are of foreign origin. Thus the Bolídas, once dominant in Kej, claim to be of Arab extraction; the Gitchkis of Panjgúr to be descended from a Sikh colony; the Lumris of Las Bela to be Somar Rájputs; while the Nushirwánis of the Khárán desert are distinctly Persian.

In the eastern plateau are the Bráhuís, the dominant and, perhaps, the older race, differing in appearance, character, and language from the true Balúch; but as the two races intermarry, and the Bráhuí talks preferentially Balúchí, considering his own patois "vulgar," these differences must

tend to disappear. Even now the name Balúch is not unfrequently applied to the Bráhuí, and some tribes are so mixed that it is difficult to say to what race they appertain. To what family of languages Bráhuí belongs is still an open question. Caldwell, at one time, claimed it as Dravidian, or akin to the languages of Southern India, but has since modified his opinion; Mockler finds resemblances to the old Scythian of the Behistun Inscription; Trumpp regarded it as Kolarian, or akin to the language of the Sontáls, Kols, and other kindred races in the hills of Central India. Cust has provisionally included it in the Aryan family, as a language derived from the same source as Sindi and Punjábí, but containing Dravidian elements, the presence of which remains to be explained.

The Bráhuís, like the Balúches, are divided into numerous sub-tribes, the Mingals, the Bezanjos, and the Zehris being the most powerful in the Jhalawán; the Raisánis, the Shirwánis, and the Bangalzai in Sarawán. The Khán of Kalát is a Bráhuí of the Kambaráni tribe.

Besides the two principal races above described, there are found in the plains of Gandáva large colonies of Jats, who hail from the Punjab, and speak a mongrel dialect called Jatki; and in the towns and villages of Kalát there is a peculiar Persian-speaking race called Dehwár, resembling the Tájiks of Persia and Afghánistán; and in Quetta are Afgháns of various tribes.

The above-named races are Muhammadan; a few Hindus are found in towns and seaports engaged principally in trade and money-lending.

In character both Bráhuí and Balúch are frank and open in their manners, and their hospitality is proverbial; they are brave and enduring; predatory, but not pilferers; vindictive, but not treacherous. With all the virtues of their neighbours, the Afgháns, they are more reliable, more enduring, and less truculent; and on two points, which have an important bearing on their management, they differ widely: the Balúch is amenable to the control of his chief;

the Afghán is republican, and obeys only the *jirgah* or council of the dominant faction of his tribe. The Afghán is fanatical and priest-ridden; the Balúch is singularly free from religious bigotry.

In appearance the Balúch is shorter and more wiry than the Afghán; his features are regular and more aquiline. He wears his hair long, and generally in oily ringlets. He carries a sword, knife, and shield; his dress is a cotton smock reaching to his heels and pleated about the waist, loose drawers, and a long cotton scarf. As a nomad he does not seclude his women, but is not the less jealous of female honour. Like many other Mussulman races, the Balúches claim to be of Qoreshi (Arabian) descent; while some hold them to be of Turkoman stock. Their customs are said to support the latter theory; their features, in the case of some tribes, but not all, certainly favour the former.\*

Except in the towns, which are few in number, and mud-built, permanent places of abode are rarely met with. Tents of dark camels' hair, called *kiris* or *ghedáns*, are the usual habitation of the tribesmen. A collection belonging to one tribe is called a *tuman*, and the chief *tumandar*.

#### REVENUE AND TRADE.

The revenue of the Khán consists chiefly of a share of agricultural produce, taken from inferior cultivators—Bráhuís being exempt. It was estimated by Hughes at from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 lakhs of rupees (£25,000 to £30,000) per annum, but it is now considerably larger. For the collection of this revenue the Khán has agents, or *naibs*, in different parts of the Khanate, but they do not interfere administratively with the local tribes.

The trade is small, the principal exports being wool and hides, madder, dried fruits, bdellium, tobacco, dates. The article of export most capable of development is wool from the hills, which is of superior quality.

\* Punjab Census Report.

## HISTORY.

For the purposes of this paper, the history of Balúchistán is soon told :—In the latter end of the seventeenth century, Kalát was the seat of a Hindu Rájá of the Sehawah dynasty. Threatened by marauders from the east, the Raja called to his assistance Kambar, chief of the Bráhuí mountaineers. The Bráhuís did their work, then ousted their employer from his throne, and became themselves supreme in the hill-country, afterwards extending their control over Makran on the west and the plain country on the east, until, in the first-half of the eighteenth century, Abdullah Khán, fourth in descent from Kambar, was recognized by Nádír Shah as chief of Balúchistán.

Abdullah Khán was killed in a battle with the Sindis, and was succeeded by his son Mohbat Khán, who obtained a formal cession of Kach Gandáva from the Persian king.

Mohbat Khán was deposed for tyranny, and his brother Násir Khán I. placed on the throne by Nádír Shah's successor, Ahmad Shah. Násir Khán I. died in A.D. 1795, after a beneficent reign of forty years, during which time the Balúch and Bráhuí tribes were consolidated and formed into a confederacy, under the headship of the Kalát Chief, while the districts of Shál (Quetta) and Mastung (still regarded as the Khán's private domain) were obtained as a gift from the Duráni Emperor, in recognition of military services.

He was succeeded by his son, Mahmúd Khán, who was reigning at the time of Pottinger's visit, and in 1819 Mehráb Khán came to the throne, a well-meaning but weak ruler.

When in A.D. 1838 it was determined by the British Government to replace Shah Shúja on the throne of Cabul, the co-operation of the Kalát chief was sought for, and a British army marched through his territories to Kandahár. Mehráb Khán was accused by our political officers—wrongly, it afterwards appeared—of treachery. In Novem-

ber, 1840, Kalát was stormed by a column of British troops, and Mehráb Khán slain in the assault.\*

The political officers then placed upon the throne Shah Nawáz Khán, representative of the elder and discarded branch of the family, to the exclusion of the direct heir—the son of Mehráb Khán—and commenced merrily the work of "disintegrating" Balúchistán. An insurrection followed, during which Shah Nawáz Khán abdicated, and Mehráb Khán's son, known subsequently as Mír Násir Khán II., was placed upon the throne by the confederate tribes. Meanwhile, the political officer, Lieutenant Loveday, was carried off a prisoner, and, during a hot pursuit by British troops, barbarously put to death. Ultimately, Násir Khán II. was recognized by the British Government, and in October, 1841, a treaty of friendship was concluded with him. Throughout our disasters in Afghánistán, the Khán remained faithful to his engagements, and loyal to the British Government, and in 1854, under Lord Dalhousie's Government, a fresh treaty was executed. In this treaty the Khán bound himself and his successors (1) to act in all cases in subordinate co-operation with the British Government; and (2) enter into no negotiation with other States without its consent; (3) to permit British troops to be stationed in his territories; (4) to prevent outrage at or near British territory; (5) to protect merchants, and levy no transit duties in excess of a schedule annexed to the treaty. The British Government, on its part, agrees to pay the Khán an annual subsidy of Rs. 50,000.

Násir Khán II. died in 1857, and was succeeded by his brother, Mír Khudádád Khán, the present ruler, then sixteen years of age.

Circumstances which need not be detailed led to a struggle between the Khán and the principal Bráhuí chiefs,

\* Sir R. Sandeman informs me that this event, the most profoundly tragical, perhaps, in the history of the first Afghán war, is never referred to by the present Khán, even at this distance of time, without emotion.

aided at times by the Jám of Las Bela and Azád Khán of Khárán—a struggle which lasted, with occasional intervals of peace, for twenty years. The British Government, though reluctant to interpose, could not regard with indifference a state of civil war and anarchy on its frontier, which, moreover, interfered with the due performance of the treaty obligations for which a subsidy was granted to the Khán; and it did its best, by friendly remonstrance and advice, to prevent the continuance of bloodshed, but with little success.

At length, during the Viceroyship of Lord Northbrook, Major (now Colonel Sir Robert) Sandeman, who, as a frontier officer, had great experience in dealing with Balúch tribes, was directed to proceed to Kalát with a strong escort, and endeavour to effect by friendly mediation a settlement of Kalát affairs. His advent was welcomed by both parties; a meeting was convened between the Khán and the disaffected chiefs, complaints and grievances were heard and settled, and, eventually, in July, 1876, at Mastung, a formal reconciliation was effected between the Khán and his Sardárs; and at the end of the year at Jacobábád, in Sinde, a meeting took place between Lord Lytton (who had meanwhile succeeded to the Viceroyship) and Mír Khudádád Khán. On this occasion a fresh treaty was concluded—reaffirming the provisions of the treaty of 1854, and providing further for the construction of railways and telegraphs in the Khán's territories, the appointment of the Political Agent as final referee in cases of dispute between the Khán and his Sardárs, the abolition of transit duties, and an increase of the subsidy granted to the Khán from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 100,000 per annum.

From that time to the present, civil war has ceased. Meantime the Khán has faithfully carried out the terms of the settlement and the provisions of the treaty, and both Khán and chiefs have remained on terms of the most cordial friendship with the British Government. Throughout the Afghán war their loyalty was conspicuous. Indeed,

but for the Khán's assistance in providing carriage, our operations for the relief of Kandahár, when besieged by Ayúb Khán, would have been seriously hampered, and General Roberts' victorious army would have had no supplies.

With His Highness's consent police jurisdiction is exercised by the officers of the British Government on the line of railway passing through his territory, and for a space of 200 feet on either side, and in the Bolán Pass; the administration of the Quetta district has been made over to us in consideration of an annual payment of Rs.25,000; and the local chiefs and tribesmen are employed, under the supervision of British officers, in the protection of the Bolán Pass, the railway, and the 700 miles of the frontier between Balúchistán and British territory.

#### AGENT'S WORK AS ARBITRATOR.

Meanwhile, with the help of able assistants, the Agent has performed with excellent effect his duties as settler-general of disputes—a work involving much labour, tact, and patience, and many a long journey. A rupture between the Jám of Las and his son, a fracas between the Khán's officials and Bráhuí tribesmen about an irrigation dam, rival claims to the chiefship of the Rind Balúches, feuds between the Zehris and the Musiánis in Jhalawán, between the Gitchkis of Panjgúr, between the Zágar Mingals of Nushki, between the Nushirwánis and the Kandas of Kolwah, between the Bezonjos and the Mirwánis, between the Marris and Bugtis, and Bozdárs of the eastern frontier, are a few among the many cases which have called for intervention, and which, but for his intervention, might have led to bloodshed. The result has been peace and good order, a remarkable extension of tribal-cultivation throughout Balúchistán, and many expressions of gratitude, especially from the poorer and weaker classes, for being protected from oppression.

But perhaps the most important achievement in this department of the Agent's duties is the reconciliation between the Khán of Kalát and Azád Khán of Khárán, the aged chief of the Nushirwáni tribe. The latter figured, so far back as the time of the first Afghan war of 1839, as an enemy of the British Government, and had been for years past a restless opponent of the Khán, and terror of the border villages. In the eyes of Kalát and British officials his character was well-nigh hopeless—and "bandit," "traitor," "irreconcilable," were the fashionable epithets applied to him. Before accepting this view, Sir R. Sandeman thought it well to visit this historic personage and hear what he had to say. Accordingly, in the cold season of 1883, the Agent proceeded to Khárán, and saw the veteran chief—then ninety-seven years of age—and in a report to the Government thus describes the Sardár's appearance and character :

"In spite of his great age, Azád Khán retains his mental faculties unimpaired. Bowed by age he is unable to mount a horse without assistance, but once in the saddle his endurance is greater than that of many a younger man. Possessed of unflinching resolution, impatient of wrong, generous to reward, stern and relentless in punishment, Sardár Azád Khán has above all things enjoyed a reputation for unswerving honesty. He is never known to depart from his word once given, and has a sincere contempt for chicanery or falsehood."

The Sardár's grievances against the Khán and others were duly heard and inquired into, and found, for the most part, to be genuine : an equitable settlement was proposed and accepted by all parties. Azád Khán, after years of estrangement from the Khán, rejoined the Balúch confederacy, and gave evidence of his changed feelings towards the British Government by furnishing 150 camels for the use of Sir W. Ridgeway's mission, for which he refused to receive payment, making a friendly return visit to the Agent at Quetta, and arranging, in co-operation with our officers, for the protection of trade routes in his territory.

Azád Khán, himself, has at length succumbed, after



reaching his 101st year, but he has been succeeded, according to his wish, by his son Nauroz Khán, who is well disposed.

As Khárán covers the western end of the Mulá Pass, and is on the line of caravan routes from Persia and Afghánistán, the friendship of its chief is a matter of some moment.

#### THE DISTRICTS OF NEW PROVINCE—PISHÍN.

Pishín comprises (1) a rich alluvial plain of 325 square miles, singularly bare of vegetation, but abundantly well watered by numerous streams and *kahrezes*, which descend from the surrounding hills and give irrigation to ninety-four villages; (2) numerous ravines from the northern ranges and glens watered by the tributaries of the Lora, with hamlets on the banks of streams surrounded with fruit trees and cultivation; (3) a lofty plateau on the north—the Toba plateau—nearly treeless, and without villages, but well watered and capable of much cultivation; (4) Shahrod, a secluded valley on the west.

In all, the cultivable area is about 1,200 square miles, producing wheat, barley, maize, millet, hemp, lucerne grass, melons, madder, and tobacco.

The population is estimated at 81,000 souls, and, except in Shahrod, where Bráhuís predominate, consists chiefly of Sayads and Tarín Afgháns, with a fringe of Kákars and Achakzais. Generally employed in agriculture, or engaged in mercantile pursuits, they are decidedly peaceable in their habits, and well-pleased to be defended from the incursions of their more warlike neighbours who live in the hills which bound the north, east, and west sides of the district.

The revenues of Pishín—chiefly land-revenue, taken in cash and kind—have risen, without any increase of taxation, from Rs.46,542 in 1879–80 to Rs.92,578 in 1885. The cost of local administration, including salary of Political Agent, revenue and judicial establishments, police and tribal levies, was about Rs.78,000 per annum.

For purposes of administration, Pishín has been united with the Quetta district, which, though a part of the Kalát territory, has been made over to us by the Khán, under circumstances already explained. Quetta, or Shál, is a valley about twenty miles long by five broad, bosomed in grand mountains. On the east are the mountains of Murdár and Zargún, the latter clothed with juniper forests; in front, the bare and double-peaked Tákátu, which separates the valley of Quetta from Pishín. The spurs of Tákátu stretch to the left, and through a long gap in them is seen in the distance a line of blue grey mountains which form the Khwája Amrán range. Between these mountains and the spurs of Tákátu lies the valley of Pishín, which is reached through the Gazáband Pass. On the west is the high mountain of Chiltán. The southern extremity opens into a valley named significantly, *Dasht-i-bedaulat*—the unhappy plain—swept over by withering winds in winter and dust storms in the summer; and at the east side of this valley is the entrance to the upper end of the Bolán Pass. The town and fort are at the north end of the valley, dominated by the *Miri*, or palace, which stands on an artificial mound. As a military position it can easily be made impregnable, by closing, by redoubts or otherwise, the northern end of the valley. The population is composed chiefly of Afghán tribes, and the name Quetta is an Afghán corruption of "Kot," meaning "court-house." Shál is the more ancient name of the valley, and is traced by Rawlinson as far back as the tenth century.

Since our occupation of these districts the attitude of the mass of the population has been peaceable and friendly, but several murderous outrages by individuals, generally fanatics, have unfortunately taken place, and in 1880, after the disaster at Maiwand, the Achakzais of the Toba plateau gave trouble, but the appearance of a force under General Sir T. Baker soon induced them to sue for peace. They are now very well behaved, and aid in the protection of the frontier.

## SIBI.

Sibi and its dependent valleys have been formed into a district called Tal Chotiáli, from the name of its most central valley, in which the headquarters are located.

Though till lately an Afghán district, Sibi is, geographically, the most northerly portion of the Kachhi plain of Balúchistán, from which it is separated by a low stony ridge, broken in two places by wide gaps, through one of which the Nári stream flows, and through the other the Thal. Its population is extremely mixed. At the time of our first occupation in 1878, the cultivation was scanty, and the valley more or less depopulated, owing to internal quarrels and the marauding attacks of Marris. But a great change has taken place. The railway runs through the district, and near the Sibi station a new township—Sandemanábád—has sprung up, with 1,000 houses, 800 shops, and a population of 5,000 souls, while the revenues have risen from Rs. 35,382 in 1879–80 to Rs. 1,020,512 in 1885. The cost of local administration is about Rs. 68,000 per annum.

Of the valleys connecting Sibi with Pishín, the most important is the Záwar or Harnai, through which the railway runs. It is 56 miles in length, is 3,000 feet above sea-level, and is watered by the Mangi and other tributaries of the Ivári. Immediately to the north is Mount Kalípat, rising perpendicularly 7,000 feet from the level of the valley. To the west is the Chăpar Rift, a chasm in the limestone range, through which the line ascends to Gwál in the Pishín plateau. The valley is fertile, and has good pastures, but, until our advent, was harried by the raids of hillmen. Higher up the watershed are the valleys of Kach, Hamdán, and Khawás—fertile and well cultivated, with forests of juniper extending over the mountain sides.

South of Záwar are the valleys of Sangán and Bahdra, and on the east those of Pur and Thal. The population of these valleys consists of Taríns, Panizais, Isakhel, and other Afghán tribes.

Tal Chotiáli is a large plateau cut up by torrent beds, with few trees and little cultivation—for before the advent of the British each of its four townships was at feud with its neighbour, while the Marris and Kákars harried them all. Though nominally under the Kabul Government, no revenue had been collected from the district for fourteen years before our arrival on the scene.

Bori lies immediately to the north of Tal Chotiáli. It has a length of nearly a hundred miles of uninterrupted plain, varying from five to ten miles in width. For eighty-two miles it is watered by streams flowing from Pishín in a direction nearly due east. At Sháran the Bori river turns sharply to the south, then making its way through the Anambár Gap, crosses the Tal Chotiáli plateau, the drainage of which it receives, and, under the name of Behji, ultimately falls into the Nári. "The lower portion of the Bori valley," says Sir M. Biddulph, who marched through it in 1879, "is well watered; the villages are close together and well built, and, to afford security against the attacks of Marris, who sweep their marauding bodies up to this distant valley, every village is a little fort. Orchards peep above enclosures, and fields extend from village to village."

The population of Bori and Tal Chotiáli is Afghán, but friendly. The Khetrán valleys are occupied by industrious and peaceful tribes of cultivators (as their name implies) who call themselves Afghán, but have greatly intermarried with Balúches.

The revenues of the valleys have been steadily increasing. In 1880 they amounted to Rs. 26,000, in 1885 they had increased to Rs. 80,000. The annual cost of local administration is Rs. 78,800.

#### EXPEDITIONS.

Surrounded by marauding tribes, Sibi, with its dependencies, has given more trouble than Pishín, and two expeditions have been necessary; one against the Balúch

tribe of Marris, occupying the hill-country between the Kachhi plain and the Punjab, the other against the Afghán tribes of the Zhob and Bori valleys.

In 1880, on the occurrence of the Maiwand disaster, and the siege of Kandahár by Ayúb Khán, it became necessary to move troops from Chotiáli, and abandon for the time the railway works in the Harnai valley, in order to protect the Bolán Pass, and keep open communication with the Khojak. A portion of the Marri tribe seized their opportunity, attacked a British convoy in a mountain gorge, killed ten soldiers, and ten railway, transport, and commissariat employées, and succeeded in carrying off the treasure, amounting to nearly two lakhs of rupees; a few weeks after they made a raid on Mal, near Sibi. On the return of the troops from Kandahár, a brigade was despatched under command of Major-General Sir C. Macgregor to the Marri country to exact reparation. The object was effected without bloodshed. The chiefs submitted, and agreed to pay a fine of Rs.2,000,000, and place in our hands the village of Quat Mandai as security for payment. Since then the conduct of the tribe has been excellent, and they are largely employed in the protection of the new road and of the railway.

On March 24, 1880, Capt. Showers, commandant of the Balúch guides, when proceeding with a slender escort through the Udapashá Pass, *en route* from Harnai to Quetta, was killed by a volley from a party of Panizai Patáns lying in ambuscade, and about the same time some of the same tribe attacked a railway survey party under Lieut. Fuller, R.E., wounding a European sergeant and two sepoys. Sir R. Sandeman, who happened to be in Harnai, proceeded at once with his escort and some troops under Colonel Durand, dispersed the Panizai gathering and blew up the village fort. Their chief fled and took refuge in Zhob. During this reconnoissance Sir R. Sandeman received a bullet through his hat, and his orderly was wounded by his side. Circumstances prevented further operations at the

time, but three years afterwards, after the chastisement of the Marri tribe, the Panizai chief surrendered on terms that had been offered. Since then the Panizais have given no trouble, and taken service under Government.

In 1883, several outrages were committed by Kákars, and in 1884 a series of murderous attacks were made on British subjects in Tal Chotiáli by different tribes of Afgháns under the influence of Shahjahán, the fanatical chief of Zhob—culminating in an attack, made on the night of April 21st, on a camp of labourers employed on the new cantonment buildings, seven of whom were killed. At length a force under the command of Major-General Sir O. Tanner, accompanied by Sir R. Sandeman, was despatched to the Zhob country. The expedition was completely successful. The chiefs of the Bori valley quickly yielded, and, after a body of 500 fanatics had been attacked and dispersed, all the principal chiefs of Zhob submitted, excepting Shahjahán, who fled the country. Thereafter the Bori and Zhob chiefs executed a document formally accepting the supremacy of the British Government, agreeing to stop all raids, pay a substantial fine, and to allow the British Government to locate troops in their respective valleys; a representative of the older branch of the family was recognized provisionally as chief of Zhob. Since then Shahjahán himself has submitted to the British Government, and with the consent of the tribes, and his provisional representative, is now recognized as chief. The Zhob valley has not been occupied, but a road has been made through that of Bori, and the Bori tribes are employed in its protection.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF THE NEW PROVINCE.

No attempt has been made to introduce an elaborate system. The main object has been—

To establish and maintain peace and order.

To administer justice promptly, with as little interference as possible with native usages.

To promote the good feeling of the chiefs and tribesmen, by associating them with us as far as possible in the work of government.

To improve communications, promote trade, provide medical aid for the people, develop irrigation, preserve forests.

Much, of course, remains to be done, but time and funds are limited.

For MILITARY purposes troops are stationed in the Pishín valley, and at Lorelei in the Bori valley, with detachments at important points.

In connection with the regular troops there are located along the principal lines of communication, on the frontier, and in the principal passes, fortified posts, held by tribesmen in the pay of Government—a proportionate number of appointments being given to each of the tribes of the locality. The men and their immediate officers are nominated, subject to approval, by the tribal chiefs, but work under the supervision of the political officers, who are *en rapport* with the military authorities, and have command of the police. Their duties are to watch and patrol roads, give information of tribal movements or intended raids, help to prevent and detect crime, and make themselves generally useful to military and police authorities. In this way many of the wildest spirits of the frontier are usefully employed, and many of those who have fought against us—the Achakzais, the Panizai Kákars, the Marris, the Bori Patáns, and others, are now cordially co-operating with our officers in the maintenance of order.

For EXECUTIVE and JUDICIAL purposes the province is divided into two districts—(1) Quetta and Pishín, (2) Tal Chotiáli. Each district is in charge of a Political Agent, with a staff of assistants, English and Indian, invested with executive and judicial powers, all acting under the control of the Agent to the Governor-General, who has the judicial powers of a High Court. Each district is further divided, for revenue and police purposes, into sub-districts, with native sub-collectors invested with judicial powers in petty cases,

so that redress is ordinarily close at hand. In populous places inhabited by mixed races, a regular police is organized; elsewhere the tribal chiefs are held responsible for maintenance of order, and prevention and detection of crime within the local limits of their chiefships. In the administration of justice the Indian codes are applied in the case of natives of India and Europeans, but in cases between natives of the locality the provisions are not rigidly enforced, and the assistance of tribal chiefs, village councils, and arbitrators, is freely resorted to.

THE POLICE, REVENUE, POSTAL, and TELEGRAPH establishments are largely recruited from the tribes in the manner adopted in the case of outpost service.

This system of governing, so far as possible, through tribal chiefs, working under the firm but friendly control of selected district officers, is similar to that adopted, with excellent effect, upon the Punjab frontier in early days. For the time being it is working well in the new territory, and, if care be taken, will continue to do so; but the fact must be remembered that the system, to be successful, must be worked by officers of special experience and aptitude, having much sympathy with the wild races they control, strong powers of physical endurance, and a *minimum* of desk-work. Whether officers combining these qualifications will be continuously forthcoming remains to be seen.

In the matter of COMMUNICATIONS the first place belongs, of course, to the RAILWAY. Starting from Rukh, a point near Sakkar, on the Indus valley line, the "Sind Pishín State Railway," as it is now designated, proceeds by Shikárpur to Jacobábád; then for 90 miles along the Kachhi desert to Sibi; then up the Nári gorge to the Harnai valley, 3,000 feet above sea-level; thence through a chasm in a limestone range, known as the Chapar Rift, to Gwál (5,500 feet), and across the Pishín plateau to Gulistán-kahrez, at the entrance of the Khwája Pass, and just beyond the Khojak. It is constructed on the same gauge as the Sinde, Punjab, and Dehli, and Indus valley lines—the



broad gauge of 5 feet 6 inches. A subsidiary line on the narrow gauge runs from Sibi through the Bolán Pass to Quetta, and joins the main line at Bostán, in the Kuchlák valley.

The latter was commenced in September, 1879, under Colonel Lindsay, R.E., and was open as far as Sibi—133½ miles on January 16th, 1880. In July of that year the works had to be temporarily abandoned under circumstances already explained. Then there was a change of Ministry in England, which delayed matters until 1884, when the work was recommenced, and has since been steadily pushed on, and it was opened to its present terminus a few weeks ago.

But how to reach the Chaman outpost on the further side of the Khwája Amrán range—whether by tunnel through the Khojak, or by steep gradient over the Khwája Pass, or round the western end of the Amrán range by Nushki—is a matter which has been long under consideration, but is believed to have been recently settled in favour of a tunnel. The work has been, in many places, very difficult, and has been carried through in the face of fever, cholera, and floods, and every kind of difficulty, in a manner most creditable to all concerned, and especially to Colonel James Brown, R.E., C.B., C.S.I., the Engineer-in-chief of the main line, and Mr. F. L. O'Callaghan, C.I.E., of the Bolán Pass line.

ROADS, suitable for carts, have been made, connecting Sibi with Quetta by the Bolán Pass, and Quetta with Chaman on the far side of the Khojak. Another, suitable for guns or camels, connects Quetta with Kalát, and Pishín with Tal Chotiáli, and another (just completed) proceeds through the Bori valley and the Rakni plain—by Fort Munro to Dera Gházi Khan in the Punjab, a distance of nearly 300 miles. The completion of this line of communication through a country, which a few years since was *terra incognita*, in friendly accord with the twelve warlike tribes with twenty-nine thousand fighting men, through

- whose land it passes, is a remarkable achievement, and an event of importance, not only in the interests of trade and civilization, but as furnishing an alternative route from India to our new territories in the event of the road by Shikárpur, Jacobábád, and Sibi, being closed by inundations from the Indus.

In connection with communications, POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS may be mentioned. There are nineteen post offices and 450 miles of postal line in addition to the railway. They are freely used by the people, so much so that a village delivery has been organized. The parcel post and postal order systems have been extended to the province, and postal orders are much appreciated by Afghán merchants as a means of remittance. There are 225 miles of telegraph in addition to that of the railway and the Indo-European line which passes along the coast through Las Bela to Gwádar in Makrán.

With regard to the promotion of TRADE, good government, good communications, and good postal arrangements, go a long way ; but two other beneficial measures may be noticed here—the abolition of transit duties in the Bolán Pass, and the establishment of a horse fair at Sibi, which promises to be a great success.

One of the most important means of conciliating border races is undoubtedly the DISPENSARY. All along the Punjab frontier, from Huzára on the north to Roján on the southwest, dispensaries and hospitals have been located, and have done good work. They are freely resorted to by members of the wildest tribes, and there can be little doubt that the steadily increasing friendliness of our frontier neighbours is attributable in some measure to their influence.\* Nine of these institutions (for in-door and out-door patients) have been opened in different parts of the new territory, and one in Kalát, affording relief to more than 50,000 patients (male and female) annually. Of these a

\* During the late Afghán war when the frontier town of Tánk was pillaged and burnt by Wazíri raiders, the dispensary was spared.

large portion are people of the country, and not a few tribesmen from the hills. Vaccination has been introduced, and in most cases eagerly received.

Not much has been done directly for the development of IRRIGATION, but loans are granted on easy terms to cultivators for sinking wells, and constructing tanks, water-courses, or *kahrezes*.

The last but not the least of the objects aimed at has been the preservation and development of FORESTS. As a rule the Assigned Districts are singularly bare of foliage ; fuel and timber are consequently scarce. Owing to this, and to the extension of cultivation, resulting from the *pax Britannica*, there has been a serious drain on the more accessible sources of supply. In Sibi alone more than 11,000 acres of juniper were completely denuded of trees in two years ; in Pishín, acres fairly covered with pistacio, are now bare. In these circumstances the establishment of a proper system of forest administration has become a matter of pressing importance. Fortunately, forest resources have been discovered which promise, when properly exploited, to furnish an ample supply. In the plains there are at Sibi 5,000 acres of juniper (already reserved), besides tamarisk jungle ; and other forests not yet reserved on the east side. In the hill-country, east of the Pishín plateau, there are, at Gwál, four square miles of pistacio forest, and more at Siríáb ; blocks of juniper at Shárig and Harnai, and in Khawás the hill-sides are covered for miles with juniper, forming a vast forest (called the Ziárat forest), no less than 400 square miles in extent. It is calculated that if half this area of forest is reserved and scientifically managed, and connected by roads with the railway, which is not far distant, it will furnish an ample supply of fuel and timber at a moderate charge. Measures have, accordingly, been taken to organize a Forest Department under an experienced officer, who will act as assistant to the Political Agent. The forest, being (it is said) unburdened with customary rights of cutting and grazing to

any great extent, their reservation and regulation will not, it is believed, be difficult ; and as it is intended to recruit the foresters from the hill tribes, and interest their chiefs in forest management by training their sons to fill superior posts—the measure may be popular as well as useful.

### THE MILITARY SITUATION.

Since the submission of the Zhob and Bori tribes the northern boundary of British Balúchistán may be said to run from the western end of the Gumal Pass (near Tánk on the Punjab frontier), down the Zhob valley to the spurs of the Kand mountain, then round the northern slopes of the Toba plateau till it meets the Khwája Amrán range, and thence along the far side of that range and its prolongation—the Sarlattí hills—to Nushki, on the edge of the great desert.

But as the Zhob valley has not yet been occupied, our military frontier may be taken as running with the new road from Dera Gházi Khán by the Bori valley to Pishín, and thence by the Khojak Pass to Nushki.

The total distance from Dera Gházi Khán to Nushki is 400 miles ; but of this the portion between Nushki and the Khojak Pass is a wall of mountain, overlooking desert—thus requiring little or no protection ; so that the total length of the new frontier requiring defence is 300 miles, as compared with 700 miles—the length (with deflections) of the old frontier between Dera Gházi Khán and the sea.

At present the new frontier is held (so far as it is held at all) by troops from the garrisons of (1) Pishín, (2) Lorelei—130 miles east of Pishín, (3) Dera Gházi Khán—160 miles east of Lorelei, and posts of tribal levies.

Within this line is Quetta, in a valley which can easily be rendered impregnable, flanking the route between Kandahár and Kábul, and commanding four of the

chief routes between Balúchistán, Afghánistán, and India,—the Zhob, the Bori, the Tal Chotiáli valleys, and the Bolán Pass.

At present, however, we guard, in addition to the above line, all the 700 miles of frontier between Balúchistán and British territory, from Dera Gházi Khán to Karáchi, employing for this purpose a special force, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, three of infantry, one of artillery, besides tribal levies and police—a force too costly (it is urged) for protection against thefts, too weak for defence against invasion.

It is suggested by officers well acquainted with the localities, that in view of the strength of our position in Quetta and Pishín, our dominating influence in Balúchistán, and enhanced power of controlling the semi-independent tribes between Kalát and British territory, the frontier between Balúchistán and British India no longer needs special military protection, any more than the frontiers of Kashmír, or Rajputána, or Indore, or Hyderabad, or Gwalior, or other allied or feudatory States—and that the force now employed on that duty might be materially reduced, and a portion transferred from the scorching plains of the Deraját and Sindé to strengthen the garrisons in the healthier regions of the new province.

We should thus have, according to their view, a frontier of 300 miles guarded by an adequate force living under healthy conditions, in lieu of 700 miles of frontier inadequately garrisoned by troops living in the most trying climate of India.

Whether the time has come for this important step is a matter for Commanders-in-chief, Viceroy, and Secretaries of State, to determine; but its possibility must greatly depend upon the success of our endeavours to conciliate and control the warlike races which lie between the old frontier and the new. The measures taken for this object have been described. They are directed by an officer of rare experience, are apparently well adapted to secure the end

in view, and the progress already made is certainly encouraging.

For the success which has been attained credit is chiefly due, of course, to the Agent of the Governor-General—Colonel Sir R. Sandeman—an officer who has combined firmness, indomitable energy and perseverance under difficulties, with a remarkable power of winning the confidence of border chiefs and tribes; but no small share of credit is also due to those who have worked with him—Mr. Bruce, Major Wyllie, Mr. Barnes, Captain Hope, Dr. O. T. Duke, Rae Hetu Rám, Pandit Súraj Koul, Diwán Ganpat Rae, Khán Bahádúr, Haq-nawáz Khán, and others, as well as to the distinguished military officers and engineers whose services have already been referred to. But while praising the agents we must not forget the principals—the statesmen, civil and military, to whose courage and foresight we owe the new departure in Balúch affairs, taken in 1877-78. Whatever opinion may be held regarding the policy and proceedings which plunged us into the late Afghán war, few will deny that our action in respect to Balúchistán—action initiated by Lord Northbrook's Government, and vigorously developed by Lord Lytton—has been productive of marked benefit to the people and the Empire. To all concerned in the good work done, the Empire in general, and Balúchistán in particular, owe a hearty vote of thanks.

THOMAS HENRY THORNTON.

## THE GNOSTICS.

A WITNESS who lately appeared in an English court of justice refused to take an oath because he was, he said, a Gnostic. He meant, of course, an agnostic, but he perhaps knew as much as some antiquaries who pronounce every curious engraved gem found in the East to be of Gnostic origin. Renan has even gone so far in the opposite direction as to say that there are no Gnostic gems at all, but he also probably overshoots the mark on the other side, for gems which are inscribed with names and terms which we know to have been in common use among Gnostics, ought evidently to teach us something concerning these curious secret sects of the second century of our era. Yet more, there are Gnostics still to be found in the East, whose customs and beliefs are interesting and instructive to the student of Oriental history. Coptic Christianity is said to be founded on Gnosticism. Many Armenian beliefs are traceable to the Gnostic Gospels, and some of the Moslem mystics retain ideas which seem plainly traceable to the doctrines of Manes and to yet earlier teaching of Gnostic origin.

A great movement like that usually called Gnosticism cannot be attributed to a single cause. The ideas and motives of the Gnostic teachers and of their followers were very various, and the sources of their teaching are very numerous. The old Akkadian demonology, the Persian dualism, the Greek and Babylonian philosophies, the rites of Eleusis and the mysteries of Cybele, the Phœnician cosmogonies and the Egyptian worship of Isis, Harpocrates and Serapis, are all recognizable as having contributed to Gnosticism, and there is also little room for doubt that the

legends of the northern Buddhists and the philosophy of the Gītas, the Upanishads, and other Brahmin writings, were known to the Gnostic doctors of Alexandria and Antioch.

- The great Gnostics are commonly represented as Christian philosophers who endeavoured to reconcile the gospel teaching with the received science of the second century, but this conception is perhaps hardly quite the true view of their standpoint. It is true that Christian teaching was somewhat contemptuously treated by the Greek and Roman philosophers of the age under consideration. Tertullian and Origen make it quite plain that these philosophers regarded Christian dogma as standing on the same footing with the popular superstitions of the pagans. They were surprised that men of intelligence should become Christians—so says Tertullian—and considered the Gospels as fit reading only for women and children. But the answer to these objections is found rather in the elegant writings of Clement of Alexandria—who showed that a Christian might be deeply acquainted with the philosophy and poetry of Greek literature, and who exposed the absurdities of the pagan myths with a boldness which we perhaps hardly now appreciate—than in the teaching of the Gnostics who preserved and incorporated into their systems all the vulgar superstitions of the age. Irenæus, who encountered Gnosticism in Gaul, speaks of its teachers with deep distrust. “They speak like the Church,” he says, “but they think otherwise” (“*Adv. Hær.*,” i. 2).

One of the most important indications in studying this confused question is, perhaps, that all the Gnostics had a secret as well as a public teaching. They had an initiation like that of Eleusis or of the modern dervish sects; and under all their grotesque nomenclature and extravagant allegory lay certain ideas which distinguished them from Christians, and which the Patristic writers who attack and ridicule their public teaching either did not or would not understand. This their real teaching seems from such indications as we yet possess to have been a pure scepticism, like that which



certainly underlies the Moslem mysticism, and which we may judge from significant hints in Greek literature to have also lain beneath the surface of the Eleusinian mysteries. It is the existence of such a spirit which alone makes interesting an inquiry into the grotesque syncretic systems of the Levantine Gnostics. Dubois, in writing of the Brahmins in 1816, states his belief (with what degree of truth I cannot judge) that such scepticism is also to be recognized under the dogmas of the worshippers of Siva and Vishnu, and wherever we find among Gnostics, Druzes, Ismailiyeh, or similar secret sects, that it is allowable for the initiated to profess or deny any religion he pleases so as to avoid collision with popular belief, we may naturally suspect the reason to be that the ultimate teaching is sceptical.

Another feature which distinguished the Gnostics from the Christians, both in the East and in the West, was their hatred of the Jewish religion and their rejection of the Old Testament. Some, indeed, made exceptions in favour of the Prophets while condemning the Law of Moses, but, however varied their teaching, they all seem to have agreed that the God of the Jews was an evil Deity, inferior to the true God, and ignorant of His designs. They often represented Him to be the father of the devil, and they regarded with favour all those who, like Adam or Cain, rebelled against Jehovah and refused to follow the Jewish law.

One of the great difficulties in endeavouring to understand the Gnostics lies in the fact that our information concerning them is chiefly found in the Patristic literature, which, as the fathers were intent on discrediting Gnostic teaching, can hardly be regarded as a perfectly fair presentation of the writings they attack. We have, perhaps, one important Gnostic tract in the *Pœmandres*, and we have numerous seals, gems, and amulets, which throw some light on their public teaching. We have a few extracts from Gnostic writers in Clement of Alexandria, and we have certain Oriental Gospels which can be shown to represent Gnostic teaching, but the final triumph of the orthodox

- Church over Gnosticism resulted in the wholesale destruction of its literature, and in the present age it is hardly possible to obtain more than an incomplete and fragmentary conception of this once powerful and popular movement.

The names of the Gnostic teachers are as numerous as their dogmas were various. Simon Magus (who was undoubtedly an historic character) is said by the Christian writers to have been the father of all Gnostics. Menander, Cleobius, and Dosetheus—also, like him, Samaritans—were his earliest disciples in Syria. Carpocrates, a disciple of Cerinthus the enemy of St. John, is sometimes called the first Gnostic, and was succeeded by Prodicus, whose followers were called Adamites. Saturninus of Antioch differed from Menander in his philosophy, and Tatian, who is best known as a satirist of paganism, was a disciple of Saturninus. Bardesanes taught Gnosticism in Mesopotamia, and was followed by his son Harmonius. The names of many Asiatic sects connected with these teachers also survive, such as the Ophites or serpent worshippers; the Cainites, Setheans, Encratites or Abstainers, Peratæ, Masbotheans, Genistæ, Meristæ, Barbeliotes or Borborians, and the Markosians or followers of Marcus. The Nicolaitans were Gnostics of Ephesus in the first century A.D., but the most famous of the Asiatic teachers was Manes, whose followers spread all over Europe to Spain and to Gaul, and reappeared in Byzantine times as Priscillians, Paulinians, and Manichæans. Of all these sects in Asia the Markosians and the Manichæans are perhaps the most interesting to the student of Oriental history.

The real home of Gnosticism appears however to have been at Alexandria, and the most famous teachers of the Gnosis were Alexandrian Syrians and Greeks, especially Basilides and Valentinus. Simon Magus and Cerinthus and Saturninus, though Samaritans or Syrians by birth, all appear to have been educated in Alexandria; and it was here that they became acquainted with the Platonic philosophy, though many Gnostics like Manes seem also to

have been well-versed in the teaching of the Buddhists and Zoroastrians, which they learned by travelling in Persia, and even in Bactria. The Gnostics were also familiar with the gospel narrative, but they claimed to have possession of a hidden teaching left by Jesus to some favoured disciple, and they held that the New Testament miracles were to be understood not as actual occurrences, but as allegories—a view which was even favoured by Origen. They had Gospels of their own, such as the Gospel of the Egyptians, full of mystic sayings attributed to Christ, and they seem generally to have agreed that Christ either was never really incarnate but only apparently human, or that the Divine Christ was a distinct being from the human Jesus, descending on Him at the Baptism and leaving Him at the Crucifixion—an idea which survives in the Koran and in the teaching of some of the Oriental churches. It is remarkable that the narratives of some of the Gnostic Gospels—as, for instance, that known as the Pseudo Matthew, which is pretty certainly attributable to the Markosians—are very closely akin to the stories told of the birth and education of the Buddha (in the *Lalita Vistara*) and quite at variance with the narrative of the Synoptic Gospels. The Docetic or “phantomist” theory of the Gnostics was one of the dogmas against which the Christian orthodox writers inveighed most strongly.

Gnosticism was in a sense the reaction of contemporary pagan belief and philosophy on Christianity. It was due in part to the higher thought of the age, but also in great measure to the rebellion of the lower class against the severity of Christian morality. The Gnostics held a belief very dangerous to the cause of morality, that the deeds and experiences of the flesh could not soil the really spiritual—a dogma which we find in one of Scott’s novels, revived by the extreme Puritan party. Gold, said the Gnostics, may be dragged through the mire but yet cannot be sullied, and the result practically of such teaching was the indulgence in every species of vice on the plea that until all possible ex-

periences had been undergone the soul would have to suffer continual reincarnation. To escape from matter—which was the source of evil, they said (as said also the Indian philosophers), it was necessary to have knowledge of all material evils, and to crowd into one life excesses which must otherwise be committed in many successive bodies. Human nature finally revolted against such cynical sophistry, and Gnosticism perished because of its scandalous abuses.

The terminology of Gnosticism—Greek and Aramaic—is much older than the second century. Philo was perhaps the first who tried to reconcile the Scriptures of his own nation with the Platonic philosophy which surrounded him in Alexandria; but many of the peculiar Gnostic terms are found in the New Testament also. The *Æons*, the *Pleroma*, the *Gnosis*, the *Archai*, the *Adam Kadmon*, are all mentioned in Pauline Epistles; and the words *Logos*, *Paraclete*, *Kategoros*, were freely used by the Gnostics, as also by Plato, by Philo, or by the early Rabbis of the same age; but the use of Phœnician words on the Gnostic gems and in the Gnostic categories is one of the peculiar marks of syncretism in their public or exoteric teaching to which first our attention must be directed before endeavouring to understand what was the hidden meaning of all their dogmas.

First then, as concerns the Gnostic gems, which are our most authentic sources of information, it must be remembered that the use of amulets was universal in the west of Asia, in Egypt, and in Italy during this age. The popular superstitions preserved in the writings of the Latin poets, in the fathers, and on classic inscriptions and gems are innumerable, and were even then of immense antiquity. The belief in magic, in exorcism, in necromancy, in ghosts, witches, demons, the evil eye, the lucky hand, the lucky foot, in the power of mystic words, and of spells, was not confined to one class or to one country. Clement gives us a lively picture of Alexandrian ideas on such subjects. He speaks of divining by flour and by barley, of the ventrilo-

quial demons, of the good luck of putting on your right shoe first, and of the sticks, stones, lumps of wood and salt which the sorceress bewitched. He alludes to the phallic worship of the country very clearly ; and Tertullian records the names of the popular genii who guard the child under all conditions, such as Adeona, the goddess of "toddling," and Abeona, of "toddling back again" ("Ad Nationes," ii. 11) ; and he refers to the nursery tales about Towers of Lamia and the horns of the sun.

The great safeguard against the evils which were to be expected from the malice of demons lay in the possession of gems with holy figures and holy names inscribed.\* Such amulets have, from the earliest times, been worn by Phœnicians, Arabs, Jews, and Chaldeans, as well as by Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, or Romans. They were prepared for the worshippers of Isis or of Mithra, with the names of these deities. In Italy, in our own times, these charms are still worn, and they may be found in the coffins of Egyptians and Phœnicians as well. It is only by help of the inscribed names that we can distinguish Gnostic from other amulets ; but as we know that many Gnostics claimed to understand magic and used the Cabbala, it is natural to suppose that they employed magic gems like other wizards of the age.

The names of the Gnostic deities seem nearly all to have been borrowed from the Phœnician pantheon, which was still alive in Carthage. These names are written in Greek characters, but they are nevertheless Semitic, and are well-illustrated by a study of the numerous votive texts which have been brought to Europe from Cyprus, Carthage, and Syria. In Syria these gems are often found, and they also occur in Egypt, in Spain, and in France. The commonest material is a plasma or green calcedony, which was called jasper by the ancients, and the incised designs are,

\* Even Origen (see "*Contra Celsum*," i. 24) believed in the power of holy names, enumerating Sabaoth and Adonai. Egyptian and Persian names, he says, are also powerful against various demons.

as a rule, rude and disproportioned figures with carelessly lettered inscriptions. The ordinary figure on these gems is that of Abrasax, the body clothed in Roman leather armour, with a buckler on the right side and a whip in the left hand, the head being that of a cock, with serpents for legs. Tertullian refers to this figure ("Apol." 5) as belonging to the adversaries of Christianity.

The name which usually accompanies this curious figure is Abrasax or Abraxas, which we know to have been a Gnostic term for the Supreme Deity. Cabbalistically the letters represent the number 365, or the days of the Solar year, but it does not seem to have been yet certainly discovered whether the term has any other meaning.\* Abraxas, however, had many other titles, such as Adoni—the Phœnician and Hebrew Adoni or Lord—and Semes Ilam (or Eilam)—the Phœnician Shemesh Alam or "sun god"—Alam being the Phœnician form of the Hebrew Elohim, as shown by the Punic inscriptions. He is also called Mical and Micael, which recalls not only the Jewish name of one of the seven archangels, but also Mical, a Phœnician deity connected with the sun. Iao and Iao-Sabao are other names of Abrasax, and there is no doubt that these words mean "the living one," and the "living one of the hosts of heaven" (Jehovah Sabaoth). We have Phœnician gems and coins in existence, which prove that the Greek Iao represents the semitic Yahu or Yah—a dialectic form of the sacred name Jehovah, and this name was supposed by Christians and by Gnostics alike to possess magic properties in conjuring demons, as the Jews also firmly believed. One gem with the name Iao and another with the name Semes Ilam represent Harpocrates or the infant Horus; but even this figure is Phœnician, for we have Phœnician monuments on which the titles Horus and Harpocrates occur. An ivory finger-ring found in France (described, as are the preceding gems, by King)

\* Jerome (on Amos iii.) remarks that Meithras is equivalent in value (365) to Abraxas, that Chreistos has the same value.

contains the name Abrasax on one side and the labarum of Constantine with the letters Alpha and Omega on the other ; but another yet more interesting gem represents Abrasax with an ass's head. It will be remembered that the Christians and the Jews as well were accused of adoring an ass or an ass-headed deity, and a Syrian terra-cotta has even been found representing such a figure. It is probably to Gnosticism that this emblem is to be attributed,\* although Irenæus himself says strangely enough that the ass mentioned in the Gospels is "a type of the body of Christ" ("Frag." xxii.). Epiphanius tells us that the ass was a well-known emblem of Sabaoth, that is, of Abrasax. Another title for Iao, the Supreme Deity of the Gnostics, was Agathodæmon or "the Good Spirit," who is represented as an erect cobra, the head surrounded with rays, and sometimes with the words *Semes Ilam* (or the sun god), or *Chnuphis*, *Chnoutis*, or *Chnumis*. This emblem recalls the Ophites or serpent worshippers—an important group of Gnostics—who made the good serpent to be a type of Christ. To the same sect may also be attributed a gem which represents the Divine eye surrounded by seven figures—a lion, a dog, a scorpion, a stag, a snake, an owl, and a thunderbolt : for we know that the seven spirits of God were represented by similar figures among the Ophites, as noticed by Origen.† Concerning these Ophites a few words may be added, as their rites are peculiarly instructive.

The Ophites held that the serpent in Eden was an incarnation of Divine wisdom opposed to the God of the Jews, whom they regarded as an evil being, and to whom

\* The ass-headed God was, however, immensely older than Gnosticism, being, as Epiphanius even knew, the emblem of Set the old Akkadian and Hittite God, also worshipped in Egypt.

† The antiquity of these emblems is shown by the occurrence of the name on Syrian or Aramaic bas reliefs, where the serpent represents Saturn, the lion Mars, the dog Venus, the eagle or owl the sun or moon. Probably the thunderbolt is the emblem of Jupiter. The Gnostics gave other names, however, to the seven signs of the seven Archons.

they gave the name Ildebaoth or "Chaos born." Their ideas about Adam as the world-egg were closely akin to the Phœnician cosmogony, and their eucharist consisted of a cake consecrated by allowing a serpent kept in a basket or cage to twine round it, a rite which serves to connect them with the Eleusinian basket-bearers who carried snakes in their baskets, which snakes, according to Clement of Alexandria (who had been initiated before his conversion to Christianity), were allowed to crawl over the breasts of the Epopots. It is clear that the Ophite sects of Gnosticism were closely connected with the Eleusinian mystics, and this will be found to be clearly explicable when we consider the character of the secret teaching of Gnostics and Epopots alike.

The disciples of Marcus, who was a pupil of Basilides, were far more extravagant than the earlier Gnostics, both in their rites and in their teaching. They made use of various magic charms and juggleries to astonish the ignorant. A cup of red liquid held by a woman in their congregation, which was supposed to become blood, was poured, Irenæus tells us, into a larger cup held by the priest, and immediately effervesced—no doubt through some chemical action, which was, however, regarded as due to a miracle. These so-called Christians also dealt in philtres and charms, and in a complete system of numerical Cabbala. They celebrated what was called a spiritual marriage, which seems to have resembled the rite whereby the Indian Sakti sects celebrate the "complete consecration" in honour of Siva and Devaki. This serves perhaps to explain the meaning of a passage in the Gospel of the Egyptians which the Markosians used, which states that Jesus had said that "when two shall become one" the reign of Christ should commence. The Markosians were fond of using Hebrew or Syriac sentences, especially in celebrating their marriages and in their baptisms—words not understood by their congregations; and it is from a belief in the power of such mysterious words that much of the terminology of the mediæval black art is derived.



It would appear that the apocryphal Gospel known as the Pseudo Matthew is a Markosian work. It contains the story of Christ at school astonishing his teachers by discussing the Cabbalistic value of the alphabet—a legend which Irenæus expressly attributes to this wild and degraded sect of Gnostics. The legend is almost identical with one concerning Buddha which is related in his apocryphal histories. The Gospel in question is generally called Manichæan, and in its present form is not older than the fifth century, but many of its details are referred to by the early Patristic writers. The story of the tree which bowed to Mary (recalling the Palisa tree which bowed to Maya) is related in this Gnostic work, and survives also in the Koran. The legend of the idols of Egypt bowing to the infant Jesus is also from the same source, and again suggests a Buddhist connection, since it is related that the statues of the gods bowed to the infant Buddha. The Gospel of Thomas still extant, and said to have been used by the Ophites, contains similar narratives, and these, with the preceding details, serve to establish the syncretic character of the teaching of the more degraded Gnostic sects.

A still further advance in the direction of consecrated licence was made by the followers of Carpocrates, whose philosophy was founded on the works of Plato, while his opinions concerning Christ he stated to be derived from a secret dogma of the apostles, which taught that only Faith and Love were necessary for salvation.

The followers of Carpocrates placed a bust of Jesus—which they said was made by Pilate—in their chapel, together with others of Plato, Pythagoras, and Aristotle, perhaps equally genuine likenesses. These images they crowned and worshipped, and Carpocrates taught that the soul of Christ revolved through the seven spheres in a winged chariot—an idea borrowed from Plato. Magic rites and incantations are also supposed to have been used by the sect, but according to Clement of Alexandria these Gnostics were chiefly notorious on account of their immo-

ality. They held that the evil deity alone made moral laws. They allowed a community of women among the members, who were known to each other (like masons or dervishes) by a secret sign. They are said to have celebrated orgies in the dark, like the Sakti worshippers of India, or as the Druzes and Anseiriyeh are commonly believed in our own times in Syria still to do. The Prodicians or Adamites, who appear to have been a kindred sect, worshipped naked in their churches, and this extraordinary custom survived even to the thirteenth century, it is said, among the Beghards or Brethren of the Free Spirit. The "Gnostic charity" recalls customs prevalent among Turks and Chinese in honour of a guest, which are recorded by Ibn Muhallal in the tenth century. Such were the depths of degradation to which the Gnostics sank from the purer philosophy of Valentinus.

We must turn, however, from the outer to the inner aspect of Gnosticism, in order to understand the meaning of these seemingly incongruous beliefs and customs. Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria appear both to have been initiated into pagan mysteries. The latter tells us categorically that he was so, although he refrains from describing the rites; whereas Tertullian does not scruple to state that the Valentinian Gnostics practised Eleusinian mysteries, and he goes on to explain what the final Autopsia or "seeing" really was. We know that the Eleusinian Epopts after an oath of secrecy, and a confession and inquiry as to their fasting and chastity, were admitted into the inner shrine, when they "saw." Tertullian says the object revealed was an image of the phallus; and no one acquainted with the monuments and literature of Greece, Rome, and Egypt, can find it difficult to believe that this was the fact. Such emblems abound on monuments from Africa, from Italy, and from Sardinia. In Egyptian this emblem is frequent in inscriptions having the value of Ka, "life" or "spirit." The Patristic writers have gathered together many epithets and symbols connected with these

rites, and Clement of Alexandria says a lump of salt (emblem of life) was handed to the initiated, together with the phallic emblem. The serpent, he says, had the same meaning, and thus, if we accept the opinion of these initiated Christians, we are able to fathom at once the true teaching of the Gnostics. Like other sects, still extant, they believed only in the adoration of the mystery of life, and held that all religions were but partial recognitions of this inexplicable mystery. Thus to the Gnostic as to the modern Druze it was equally possible to call himself a Christian or a pagan, a worshipper of Dionysus or of Iao. He held that all such names were but types of the one eternal principle of life to which the Gnostic writings often allude. It was the absence of any real belief in a moral law, sanctioned by a real creed, which finally resulted in the denial of such laws as binding on the initiated; and so from the highest philosophy of the age the Gnostics gradually sank to a condition not superior to that of the aboriginal savage.

While, on the one hand, we thus see that the Christian leaders had good reason to distrust the tendency of Gnosticism, it must be admitted, on the other, that they are (whether consciously or not) very blind to the evident allegories of the great systems of Basilides and of Valentinus—allegories which are at least equal in merit to the "Vision of Hermas," which was to the Roman Christian of the time a sort of Pilgrim's Progress, and which seems intimately connected with the imagery of the Roman catacombs. In the teaching of the two Egyptian Gnostics in question there was no immorality, and some beauty of thought, although the first downward step had been already taken, in allowing their followers to sacrifice to pagan gods, and to deny their creed in order to escape persecution.

Basilides—a Syrian residing in Egypt—claimed that his teaching was derived from an esoteric dogma, confided to Matthias by Christ, and taught by a certain Glaucias, a disciple of St. Peter. It was by such means that the

Gnostics strove to meet the Christian objection as to the novelty of their views. Basilides, however, added to the Gospels certain other books of a writer named Barcabbas.

- His system resolves itself into a succession of emanations very similar to those of the Zend books which are preserved in the Bundahish, where we read how from the "good thought" of Ormazd were successively created "right," "power," "piety," "health," and "immortality," which are personified in the six Persian archangels who attend on Ormazd, and are one with him. It is said that Basilides, like the Hindu philosophers, regarded evil as a delusion and an imperfection, that he inculcated five years of silence—like Pythagoras—and that he believed in transmigration instead of a resurrection.

The fullest development of the Egyptian gnosis, however, was elaborated by Valentinus, a learned Greek. The words Abrasax and Æon were used by Basilides, but the complete system of the Æons, and the strange history of Sophia Prunike ("the yearning Wisdom") were evolved by Valentinus. It is hardly necessary to detail the Greek names of these Æons or emanations, of which there were fifteen pairs. Taken together, the list composes an acrostic sentence which was veiled by the barbarous Syriac terms employed. Such sentences were a very ancient invention, and may be recognized, for instance, in the poems of Hesiod. They have even been found by Rabbinical writers in some of the family catalogues of Genesis and Chronicles. The sum total of the Æons was Pleroma or "the completion"; the attainment of full light consisting in understanding the Æons; or, in other words, the allegory ceased to be more than an allegory when explained to the initiated disciple of Valentinus.

The Æon sentence ran thus:—"From *depth* and *silence* sprang *mind* and *truth*; from the *word* and *life* came *man* and the *church*; from these the *comforter* and *faith*; whence the *father's hope*, the *mother's love*; thence *eternal wisdom*, *light* and *blessing*, *eucharistic knowledge*, *depth* and *mingling*,

*endless union, self-born temperance, the only-begotten unity, and fixed pleasure.*" Such is the reading of the famous riddle of the thirty Æons. Irenæus says the origin of the teaching was Pythagorean, which should lead us to look to Indian philosophy for the original conception, and at least as early as the time of Alexander the Great we find in the Anugita and Bhagavad Gita a similar system of evolution of the "qualities" in "pairs of opposites" from the original eternal intelligence. Whether directly by intercourse with Buddhist philosophers, or indirectly through Greece, it cannot be doubted that the philosophy of Valentinus was essentially the same as that of the Mahabharata. Indeed, it has been thought by Renan and others that the word gnosis or "knowledge" owes its origin to the Indian *Budha* or "wisdom." \*

The story of the woes of Sophia Prunike in her search for God is a daring but very intelligible allegory. It is covered with ridicule by Irenæus, who either took it literally or at least feigned to do so. It is too long and too much beset with strange Greek and Syriac terms to find a place in this paper, but there can be no doubt that its allegorical meaning was easily explained to the initiated, while to the vulgar it appeared to veil a most mysterious knowledge.

We have in existence a tractate in Alexandrian Greek, which appears to be the production of one of the Egyptian Gnostics. It is called the *Pœmandres*—generally rendered "Shepherd of Men," and its philosophy is almost exactly that of Valentinus. It takes the form of a Divine conversation between the Supreme God and Hermes and Thoth. Nothing distinctly Christian occurs in this work, but some of the Gnostic terms, such as Agathodæmon, are found in its pages. The philosophy of Plato is the chief element in the teaching, but not only is the form exactly that of the Indian Gitas or hymns, in which the gods and heroes

\* This sentence supposes a close connection between Brahmin and Buddhist philosophy, which seems to be generally granted by writers on Indian literature.

converse philosophically, but the closing words most strongly recall a famous passage in the Bhagavad Gita. "I am," says the supreme deity of the *Pœmandres*, "in heaven, in earth, in water, in air. I am among animals, among plants, in, before, and after, the womb, and I am everywhere" (xiii. 11). The curious reader will find the same words almost in the mouth of Krishnah, and will discover that the doctrine of transmigration taught in the *Pœmandres* is, even in detail, the same as is found in early Indian literature. Among the Syrian Gnostics the connection with Persian ideas is more remarkable than any Indian influence, but Valentinus did not hold any theory of dualism such as lies at the base of the Zoroastrian system, nor does he refer to the music of the seven spheres formed by the sounds of the seven Greek vowels, which some Gnostics are said to have borrowed from Pythagoras, but which rests on the Persian and older Chaldean belief (surviving still among Muslims), that seven hollow hemispheres or firmaments—concentric cups, each the floor of a successive heaven, surrounded the hollow hemisphere of earth floating on ocean.

The vitality of Gnosticism, and its sympathy with the Zoroastrian and Buddhist systems, are alike manifest in the history of Manes and the Manichæans. The life of Manes is preserved by Cyril of Jerusalem and by Epiphanius. They relate that a certain Scythianus, a Saracen, living at Alexandria, and studying the philosophy of Aristotle, wrote four books, and apparently travelled in Syria and as far as India. These books were called the Gospel, the Book of Chapters, the Book of Mysteries, and the Treasure. Scythianus (or Scythicus) died in Palestine, and his books were left to a disciple named Terebinthus, who travelled to Persia, where he was opposed by the Magi, and where he took the name Buddha, meaning "the sage." On his death his widow purchased a slave boy named Cubricus, who grew up among the philosophers of Persia (apparently Buddhists) and took the name Manes—perhaps connected

with the Indian Manu. Manes inherited the four books of Scythianus, and in the reign of Probus he announced himself to be the Paraclete, or "Comforter," of whom Simon Magus, more than a century and a half earlier, had claimed to be the incarnation. The Magi and the Christians united to persecute this fanatic, and he was finally flayed alive in Mesopotamia, his body thrown to the wild beasts and his skin hung up at the city gates. The new teaching was not, however, stamped out, for Manes had three disciples, Thomas, Hermas, and Baddas (another Buddha). The Manichæans gradually spread in Asia, some seeking refuge among the Asiatic Bulgarians, and some in Bactria. In the fourth century the sect was very powerful, and was strenuously denounced by Christian writers. They were found in Pontus and in Cappadocia as well as in Armenia, and spread east into Bactria and northwards probably to the curious kingdom of the Khazars, where Jews and heretics alike sought refuge from the persecutions of the Greek Church, and later on from Islam. In the seventh century the Paulicians founded their doctrines on those of Manes, and combined the teaching of Zoroaster and of St. Paul. The Nestorians seem to have been infected with similar dogmas, and from the sixth to the ninth centuries the Manichæans were fiercely persecuted by the Byzantine emperors and obliged to confine themselves to fastnesses in the Taurus chain. In the eighth and tenth centuries Manichæan heresy spread to European Bulgaria with the emigrants from the valleys of Mount Hæmus; thence its dogmas were propagated in Italy, at Rome, and Milan; and numerous Manichæans came to France. The Albigenses are even said to have been Manichæans and we have already seen how early the Gnosticism of Basilides had spread itself in France and in Spain.

In the Zoroastrian literature of the fifth or sixth century, A.D., the followers of Manih or Manes are noticed as living in Turkestan and Western China, where they are said to

have taught a "mixed law," that is to say, one partly founded on the Zoroastrian faith. Mas'udi notices them in 944 A.D., as a powerful Turkish sect between Khorassan and China, professing the religion of Mani. Thus, long after the establishment of Islam, Gnosticism was yet a force in Asia, and, as we are about to see, it probably reacted on the Muhammedans themselves, and has thus survived in Syria and in Persia to our own day.

Cyril of Jerusalem, writing about 347 A.D., gives us some details of the teaching of Manes. He taught the existence of two gods, one good and one evil (as in the religion of Ormazd and Ahriman, or of the Ophite Gnostics), and he inculcated fasting and believed in transmigration. Cyril says that he "invoked the demon of the air whom the Manichæans to this day invoke in their detestable ceremony of the fig" (an expression which will be seen immediately to be instructive); he further states that these mystics identified Christ with the sun (which perhaps brings us back to Iao, the Gnostic sun god); finally, he intimates that they had yet more objectionable beliefs. "I do not venture," Cyril says, "to describe their baptism before men and women. I do not venture to say what they dispense in their wretched congregations." Tertullian, perhaps, would not have been so particular on the subject.

There is reason to suppose that it is in part to a Manichæan origin that we must attribute the strange heresies of Islam, which arose in Persia in the days of the Abbaside Khalifs of Baghdad, and which still survive among the Druzes, the Ismailiyeh, and the Anseiriyeh, in Lebanon and on Hermon. Thus, for instance, we find many peculiarities common to the Druzes and the Manichæans. The fig (a very famous Eleusinian emblem) is still a mark of recognition among the Druzes; and, although these sects differ from the Gnostics, inasmuch as they have included Muhammedan figures in their Pantheon with Christian and Jewish heroes, yet there is reason to suspect that the ultimate initiation among all the Syrian secret sects



is a sceptical teaching which denies the authority of every creed, and teaches that there is only one real principle in the universe.\* The Syrians, as a rule, believe that phallic rites are performed by the Ismailiyeh, and they charge the Druzes with annual orgies, exactly similar to those which the Patristic writers attribute to the Gnostics, and which the pagan historians charge against the Christians. The Khatebi, an early Muslim sect, held the same opinions concerning the laws of morality which we have already noticed in speaking of the followers of Nicolas and Carpocrates. Secret meetings, secret signs, successive grades of initiation, are common to the Druzes, the Sufis, and the Dervish orders, and were, as we have seen, the outer symbols of Gnosticism. How rapidly the Persian Muslims became imbued with Greek philosophy and with Buddhist doctrines we learn through a study of the rise and progress of Sufi mysticism. The Druzes not only believe in transmigration, in successive Avatars or incarnations of Deity, in a system of emanations akin to that of the Gnostic Æons, but they even hold a belief in a sacred land or paradise in China, where all good Druzes go when they die, and whence their future prophet is to come. Western China and Bactria were already, before the rise of the Druzes (in 1000 A.D.), the home as we have seen of the Manichæans and a centre of northern Buddhism. Thus, Islam, far from remaining a distinct system, was tinged with colouring derived from Indian Zoroastrian and Gnostic teaching, and even Muhammed drew his knowledge of Christianity from Gospels akin to those already noticed as in use among the Markosian Gnostics.

The Ismailiyeh were very famous in the Middle Ages

\* This principle, the Druzes say, has been incarnated at various periods of history in a pair of personages who are known as "the ascending one" and "the abode." It must be remembered that Krishnah in the Gitas is called "the abode." In the earliest Akkadian hieroglyphs the word mother is expressed by the emblem of a house or "abode" with a small star or germ within.

as assassins both in Persia and in Lebanon. Among the miserable survivors of this once powerful sect who may be found in the mountains south-west of Hamah, there remain • to our own times rites and customs marking an extraordinary syncretism. They have an Eucharist not unlike the Christian, and the lower classes profess to worship the sun and the planets, but if they retain anything of the original doctrine of the sect as it existed in the tenth century, their initiates are taught to discard all their outer or exoteric dogmas, and to believe that there is nothing real throughout creation beyond two principles, one male, the other female.

The Druzes in the same way have an outer teaching which is as complicated and as allegorical as that of the Gnostics, but the final initiation contained in the work called "The hidden destruction" abolishes all religious rites, and substitutes seven ethical rules. Thus, the Druze is allowed to profess any religion he pleases outwardly, for the simple reason that he really believes in no existing creed. The catechisms of the Druzes and Anseiriyeh (a kindred sect) are curious and interesting, but they deal only with their exoteric teaching, and the initiated Moslim, like the initiated Gnostic, or like the Eleusinian Epopt has only one real belief—the negative belief of the sceptic.

The pursuit of Gnosticism has carried us far away from the early Gnostics of the second century. An attempt has been made in the preceding pages to penetrate into the true meaning and tendency of Gnostic teaching, and to treat the question comparatively with the aid of monuments and of Oriental literature. The lines of such a treatment were laid in 1864 by King, in his interesting work on the Gnostic gems, but a great deal of collateral information has since become available, which enables us often to understand obscure allusions in the Patristic writings against the Gnostics, or to penetrate into the secrets of similar sects among the early Muslims. To give in detail the Gnostic allegories, to describe the gems or to compare fully the similarities of the dogmas with those of Platonic and

Indian philosophy would require a volume; but enough has perhaps been said to show the principle on which the study of Gnosticism may perhaps best be pursued.

The second century was in many respects not unlike the nineteenth. It was a time when trading relations throughout a widespread Empire were intimate and far extended, when Rome joined hands with India and China, when Alexandria became a centre where the Buddhist met the Greek and the Jew, and where the Gnostic would study the rites of Mithra and of Serapis as well as those of Osiris, and of Cybele and Adonis as well as of Isis and Horus. The number of sects and societies was as innumerable as in our own day, and the philosophers regarded all alike with a contemptuous toleration. Fanaticism was scarcely possible in an age when men of all nations and all creeds were in constant contact with each other; and a comparison of religious systems perhaps led the Gnostics to their final renunciation of all. There is, however, one difference between now and then, namely, the present existence of real science where formerly the rudest and most ignorant interpretations of natural phenomena prevailed. Pliny and Irenæus, Clement and Barnabas, Ptolemy and Strabo alike, astonish us by their ignorance of physics, of natural history, and of astronomy. The science of the second century is as obsolete as its cabbala or its witchcraft. The Gnostic in our own times would, so far as his acknowledged teaching went, be on a level with the Apostle of esoteric Buddhism; yet still, throughout the East, wherever a Dervish order holds its meetings, the spirit of Gnosticism may be recognized as surviving among the secret sects which profess a deep religious belief, but which teach to the more advanced among their disciples a scepticism denying all creeds, and abrogating in some cases even any moral and ethical code.

C. R. CONDER.

## REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

“ With a magnanimity so extraordinary and so contrary to the ordinary principles of human nature that it may almost be ascribed to Divine interposition, the Romans, from the foundation of their republic, admitted all the subjects of conquered States to a share of their privileges, and they received in return the empire of the world. From the first junction of the Romans and Sabines, to the final extension by the Emperor Antoninus of the privileges of Roman citizenship to the whole civilized world, this policy was steadily pursued, unshaken by success, unsubdued by disaster. The Romans felt the benefit of this magnanimous conduct in the steady adherence of their allies during the severest periods of national misfortune. Even the defeats of Trebbia and Thrasymene were not followed by the defection of a single ally: nothing but the overthrow of Cannæ shook this fidelity; while the first disaster to Carthage which confined its privileges to its own citizens, stripped that republic of all its subsidiary forces.” \*

THE action of the Romans described in this extract was probably due far more to prudence tempered by fear, than to magnanimity guided by the special interposition of Providence; but to whatever cause it should be assigned, all admit with Alison that the policy itself was fraught with the happiest results as regards the permanency and solidarity of the Roman Empire. There is much that is analogous in the circumstances of the British Empire in India and the Empire of Rome in the ancient world—the same capacity for rule among the dominant race, the same variety of nations, religions, habits, and customs among the subjects, the same unity of law and security of life and property extended to all.

Those therefore who urge concessions to the people of India, who press for their association with the English in the work of administration, may at least claim to occupy

\* Alison's "History of Europe," vol. i. ch. 1.

the vantage ground of historical experience, may reasonably maintain that the onus lies on those who would stereotype the existing system of bureaucratic administration. It is the object of this article to show (1) that the claim to make the administration of the country more representative is now being urgently pressed upon the Government; (2) that the class which is preferring the request is sufficiently influential and sufficiently united with us in interest to entitle it to a sympathetic consideration of its claims; (3) that it is highly expedient, no less in the interest of the ruling race than in that of the people of India, that some concessions in the direction of representative councils should be made at a very early date.

(1) The first point requires little or no proof. An assembly styling itself "The Indian National Congress" has now met for two years in succession—in 1885 at Bombay, and in 1886 at Calcutta. The brief account which it gives of itself in the report for the latter year is that "it has grown almost spontaneously out of the unanimous resolve of the educated and semi-educated classes throughout the Empire, to take a decisive step towards the attainment of that political enfranchisement to which they have come of late years to attach so much importance."

This Congress formulated in a series of definite resolutions the objects which it sought to attain. By far the most important of these, that which is placed in the forefront and forms the subject of the second,\* third, fourth, and fifth resolutions, is the expansion of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils into Representative Assemblies. The sixth and seventh resolutions urge modifications in the Civil Service examination, and the extension of the system of competition. The eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh resolutions request the extension of trial by jury and the more complete separation of the judicial from the executive; and the twelfth claims permission for

\* The first resolution is a formal congratulation to the Queen-Empress on Her Majesty's then approaching Jubilee.

natives of the country to join volunteer corps. The rest of the resolutions relate only to the arrangements of the Congress. The questions discussed in the resolutions following the seventh notoriously attracted much less interest than the two embraced by the first six resolutions. Of these the second has already formed the subject of special inquiry by the Indian Government, and an article in the April number of this Review was devoted to the proceedings of the Public Service Commission. The larger employment of native agency in the higher administrative posts is already receiving the attention which it merits; but the other question, the one which is indubitably regarded as the first and greatest desideratum by those who participated in the National Congress, has been thus far either ignored, by the Anglo-Indian community, or referred to with manifest aversion and contempt.

(2) This is in great measure due to the dislike felt by many for the class which is pressing for this concession. It is commonly said that they are noisy agitators, for the most part Bengali Babus, who know how to pour with fatal fluency torrents of bad sense and worse logic on every contemporary topic of foreign and domestic administration; that they represent nothing but themselves; that they would never be accepted as their spokesmen by the great bulk of the people; that they are utterly selfish and look to nothing but their own profit and interest; that they are mainly composed of shallow school-boys; that owing as they do all their importance and influence to the British Government, they have proved signally ungrateful to it: therefore as a matter of justice they can claim no attention for their extravagant and preposterous claims; while, so far as policy is concerned, they are so unwarlike and cowardly that they need no consideration. The warlike races of Northern India may well deserve our esteem; the Mahomedans are formidable as enemies and valuable as allies; the toiling masses

merit our sympathy, but the noisy Babu ought to be sternly repressed and kept in his place with a strong hand.

This is a fair *résumé* of the reasons most in favour with those who deprecate any concession to the party represented by the National Congress. That it contains an element of truth may be freely admitted, but, like all half truths, it is on that account only the more pernicious and the more deceptive. For the last half century it has been the special aim of the British Government in India to renovate the country through the agency of English education and Western science, aided by a liberal system of administration in the best sense of word. This educational policy has been confidently relied upon to reform inveterate abuses, to shatter old superstitions, to dissipate confirmed prejudices, to replace what was destroyed by a rational and just system of laws, and especially to train up a class who would act as interpreters between the Government and the masses.

It would be easy to produce evidence *ad nauseam* to show how completely the Government in England, no less than in India, has identified itself with this policy ; how it has trusted to it for eventual success, and appealed to it as the justification before God and man for the exceptional character of its *régime*. Up to a certain point, never perhaps has any great and noble policy met with so extraordinary a success. English education has, it is true, made but little way in the frontier provinces and in the sub-Himalayan districts, sparsely populated by non-Aryan races. Its progress has also been relatively slow both in the North-West Provinces and Oude (where the great mutiny left its most durable traces), and in the feudatory States under native rulers ; but in the large and densely populated provinces of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, containing that half of the entire population of India which is by far the most advanced in all that goes to make up civilization and enlightenment, it has met with an

unparalleled degree of success. The Hindus, who form three-fourths of this population, have accepted the offer of Western knowledge conveyed through the medium of the English language with an alacrity which has surpassed the most sanguine anticipations of the authors and promoters of the system. So far as the male Hindu population is concerned, all prejudices hostile to education have disappeared like winter snow. English law is studied and accepted with avidity; English medicine is rapidly replacing the older native methods; the English language is adopted without question, not only as the official language, but even as the language of such non-official meetings of natives as the National Congress; and Oriental systems are everywhere surrendering to the influence of the new schools.

Among the quarter of the population which is Mahomedan, the progress, though less revolutionary, is very rapid. An organized theocracy like Islam, is not of course so soft to the touch of Western science as those Aryans who belong to the wonderfully pliable and tolerant creed of Hinduism; but nevertheless, even among Mahomedans the influence of the new educational system has been very great, while with the small but thriving and intelligent community of the Parsees it has succeeded as well if not even better than among the Hindus. Up to a certain point, therefore, the results which have rewarded our educational efforts have been little short of marvellous.

We are now confronted by the claims to representation, and other political privileges, preferred by the very class which is the outcome of this policy. An analysis of the composition of the National Congress will satisfy every one familiar with India that this allegation admits of no dispute. The meeting in Calcutta was attended by four hundred and thirty-six delegates in all. These were chosen at public meetings held throughout the country, or by literary, political, or other associations. It is notorious that such meetings and



societies are entirely under the control of those who have received their education in the new schools, that they represent this class very fairly indeed, while they represent no other, except (a most important reservation) in so far as the educated natives are already in the larger centres of population the voice and brain of the masses, and will ere long become so, even where they cannot as yet be looked upon with any justice as their spokesmen.

Of these four hundred and thirty-six delegates the province of Bengal, including Behar and Orissa, sent two hundred and thirty-two, fifty coming from the city of Calcutta. Bombay sent forty-eight, of whom thirteen came from the city of Bombay; Madras forty-seven, fourteen coming from the city of Madras. Seventy-four came from the North-Western Provinces and Oude; seventeen from the Punjab, eight from the Central Provinces, eight from Assam, and two from the Central Indian Agency.

Thirty-three of the delegates were Mahomedans, ten were Parsees, one a European; the rest may be included under the generic name of Hindus. A Parsee was chosen as President, the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. About one hundred and sixty-six delegates, or more than one-third of the whole, were lawyers; about forty were editors of newspapers; twenty-four engaged in education, and sixteen in medicine.

Landowners were represented by about a hundred and thirty proprietors of all kinds. Traders, cultivators, and the old aristocracy were admittedly conspicuous by their absence. The Mahomedans very largely abstained from the Congress—an abstention which can easily be understood, and justified, as they not unreasonably apprehend that they will be swamped by the Hindus, especially in Bengal, if they unite with them on a platform which ignores all distinctions of race and creed.

Bengal being the province of India in which the new

education has been accepted with the greatest avidity, the Bengali Babu undoubtedly takes a very prominent part in such movements as that of which the National Congress is the expression ; but it is quite untrue that he stands alone. The educated natives of Bombay and Madras tread close on his heels—some who are excellent judges maintain that they outstrip him. Even in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, where English education is comparatively backward, the few who are thus educated at once fall into line with their brethren in the more advanced provinces. Schoolboys the delegates most certainly were not. Many who took a prominent part were very old men, noted for their conservative proclivities, such as Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, C.I.E., and above all, Babu Joykissen Mookerjee, the father of a member of the Viceroy's Council, and a veteran landowner. A large proportion of the delegates were no doubt young, but it may be taken as absolutely certain that the elders of the educated party are entirely at one with their juniors, so far as the claims put forward by the Congress are concerned. They came, no doubt, almost exclusively from the peaceful rather than the warlike provinces of the Empire, but is it necessary to stigmatize the folly no less than the injustice of alienating those who will ere long be driven to teach 120,000,000 of persons to hate us, because those millions are not warriors ? Is it for us to throw it in their teeth that, as one of the first fruits of our educational system, we have taught them to look to the pen and the platform rather than to the sword and the rifle for the redress of their real or imaginary grievances ? Certain it is as that the sun rises in the east, that the class of men whom we have called to the front by our educational system during the last half-century, is identically the class which now, in complete solidarity so far as the Hindus and Parsees are concerned, puts forward these claims—the young with impetuous and ill-considered vehemence, the old with grave and measured moderation ; those who are windbags, with frothy eloquence ; those who

are thinkers, with sober reasoning ; those who are poor and starving, with the wild and futile expectation of thereby escaping from their poverty ; those who are rich and honoured, with the reasonable conviction that they will thereby obtain an opening for their legitimate ambition.

(3) It is surely a very grave question well worthy of most anxious consideration, What line of action the British Government in India should adopt towards this movement? It is the result of a policy endorsed by the universal assent of many generations of statesmen ; it is the natural, nay rather the legitimate and inevitable, outcome of that policy. How is it that now at the eleventh hour we falter and hesitate in our approval of the movement ? Are we right to stand aghast at it as at a Frankenstein of our creation ?

The truth is that while the new education has not failed in doing what we expected, it has also done a great deal that was not as clearly foreseen. The men who are its product have lost—together with the qualities which we disliked, ignorance, prejudice, and obstructiveness in various forms—a great many qualities which we liked ; they have ceased to be modest or subservient, their reverence for the ruling class has perished together with their reverence for old ideas. They have learnt to criticise everything, to regard fault-finding as a merit, and, above all, to commit the unpardonable sin of being ambitious of place and power. They have become reconciled with extraordinary alacrity to English law, English systems, English sciences, English methods of administration ; but they dislike English officials more than their predecessors did. Hence, so far as there are any political parties in India, a great change has come over the scene within the memory of the existing generation. In former times the rivalry lay between the non-official Europeans on the one side and the natives of the country on the other, and the officials looked upon it as their *rôle* to hold the scales between the two, and especially to protect the latter from anything approaching to oppression. This

relation of patron and client was necessarily conducive to much kindness of feeling, and this kindness of feeling is still unimpaired so far as concerns those classes of natives who have not been influenced by the new schools. But the educated and semi-educated natives have become the critics of the officials, and their rivals for place, power, and influence—thus the two have been insensibly but irresistibly drawn into hostile camps; while the gap between the official and non-official Europeans is rapidly closing, seeing that the latter dislike the educated natives as a rule even more than the former.

Thus race antagonism is being everywhere accentuated, and those whom we have raised up as our “interpreters with the masses” are fulfilling this rôle with alacrity enough, but in the most disastrous fashion. And yet in everything except the one question of sharing in the Government their interests and ours are patently identical. They cordially approve of our principles of law; they derive their importance from their knowledge of our language; their influence would not survive the ruin of our rule for a month. To the security of that rule those who are wealthy owe the peaceful enjoyment of their wealth; those who are prosperous in their professions, their professional career; they have been and will be of the greatest assistance to us if we can find it practicable to work hand in hand with them. Ought we to refuse then, because of an acerbity of tone, the explanation of which is so obvious, to concede them such a share in the administration of the country as they may reasonably ask for? Ought not the Government to place itself above the dislike which an official class as such must naturally feel for those who criticise its actions in a hostile and often, no doubt, unworthy spirit? Is not such an attitude on behalf of the Government calculated to secure the sympathy of the much which is good and worthy among the educated natives, and to deprive of its most effective weapon that which is bad and contemptible? The bulk of the educated natives are, no doubt, self-seeking—what

class is not so?—they are most certainly not irreconcilable. Is it not worth while considering whether it is not possible to detach the reasonable and moderate of the party from those who are hopelessly antagonistic, by associating them with us in the administration, and thus rendering the latter impotent in their isolation?

The wisdom of this policy seems so self-evident, that it may be assumed that it will commend itself to all clear-sighted and unprejudiced persons if it is practicable; and this practicability must eventually resolve itself into the further questions—(a) whether the educated natives, if associated with the British in the administration of the country, will be content with a share only, or whether nothing short of the entire monopoly of power will satisfy them; (b) whether they will use any power placed in their hands for the purpose of undoing the policy of regeneration and development of the country which has been steadily pursued during the last century, or whether they will readily fall in with the principles of that policy and only seek to modify it in details not essential to its life. This is after all the crucial point: shall we be making a breach in an embankment through which the waters of the flood will pour in an ever-increasing volume till they involve the whole country in ruin? or shall we be but opening a sluice-gate over which we retain entire control, in order to admit such a stream as is needed to fertilize the parching soil? If it can be shown that the latter is the truer analogy, what stronger argument is needed in favour of political concessions?

For this purpose it is necessary to refer to the precise proposals made by the National Congress. The suggestions which it makes as to the constitution of the new councils are so detailed and lengthy that space precludes my setting them forth *verbatim* as I could have wished, but the substance of them can be stated very briefly. The Congress proposes that not less than one-half of the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils shall be chosen by the Municipalities and Local Boards which have been constituted

by the recent Local Self-Government Acts ; that of the remaining members, not more than one-half or one-fourth of the whole shall be officials, and the rest nominees of the Executive Government. One-half of the members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council should be elected by the Provincial Councils. It is further proposed that the enlarged councils should consider the budgets, and have the right of interpellation and of passing resolutions bearing on the work of administration. These resolutions should not be binding on the Executive Government, but, if set aside, the Local Governments should be bound to explain the reason to the Government of India, and the Government of India to the Secretary of State.

As the last resolution distinctly indicates, it is recognized that the step to be taken should be a tentative one, and it may at once be admitted that that part of the proposal which contemplates a representative council for the whole of India, to be elected by the local councils, may well be postponed till the experiment of provincial representative councils has been fairly tried and found successful. There are at present only four provincial legislative councils in India, viz., for Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and the North-West Provinces—the last of which is a very recent creation. It would amply suffice as a tentative measure to introduce the proposed scheme in the three large and more advanced provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The difficulties of providing competent representatives for a council for the whole of India, the backward no less than the advanced provinces, would, to say the least, be much greater than for the subordinate councils, and there can be no manner of doubt that the concession to the provinces named would be accepted as a satisfactory instalment for many years to come. With this limitation, representative councils very much on the lines sketched out at the Congress, might be adopted at once with no danger whatsoever to the continuity of the administration, and with very great advantage in the diminution of the bitter dislike to every-

thing official which already constitutes so serious and increasing a menace to our rule. I have the right to speak with probably more confidence than any other officer in India on a question of this kind, having had for several years past to carry on the municipal administration of the city of Calcutta by means of a Board of seventy-two councillors, in which what is called "the Babu element" has been far more supreme than it could ever become in any Bengal council such as is contemplated in the resolutions of the Congress. Of this Board two-thirds are elected and one-third nominated by the Government ; and, as the outcome of this arrangement, never less than one-half of the Board—often more—have been " Bengali Babus," about one-third are usually Europeans and Eurasians, and rather less than one-sixth Mahomedans. This, however, but very inadequately represents the actual influence of the Hindus. The European members are nearly all business men, with little time and often less inclination to attend to municipal matters ; the native members, on the other hand, are many of them gentlemen with ample leisure, who, in default of any more exalted field, find in the settlement of the affairs of the city some outlet for their aspirations. Consequently they attend the municipal committees and general meetings with far more regularity than the Europeans, and on most occasions the Babus form from two-thirds to three-fourths of the voting power present—genuine Bengalee Babus, of what those who sneer at them would consider the very worst and most pronounced type, unalloyed, as they would be in the proposed Bengal council, by importations from such very different provinces as Behar and Orissa. And yet the outcome of the ten years' management of the city by a corporation thus composed has been, so far as actual administration is concerned, far from unsatisfactory, and, so far as moral results are concerned, most satisfactory. The finance of the city, the sheet-anchor of all administrative work, has been admittedly managed with eminent sagacity and success ; the municipal debentures daily increase in favour, and stand very high in

the Calcutta money market. The economy with which the affairs of the corporation are conducted is not only not questioned, but even brought as a charge against the native councillors by their European critics. The rate of sanitary progress is no doubt not as rapid as sanitary enthusiasts desire, but nevertheless there is unquestionably steady and continuous advancement even in this the weakest point of the Board, and the elected councillors have not only not turned their backs upon a single improvement introduced during the period when the municipal administration was under the direct control of the Government, but they have added many substantial improvements of their own. During the thirteen years of municipal administration by a Board of Government nominees, 180 lacs of rupees (say £1,800,000) were spent on the improvement of the city, for which purpose 120 lacs of debt were incurred; while the annual assessed value of the house property of the town, partly as the consequence of these improvements, rose from 86 to 123 lacs. During the ten years of administration by elected councillors (with one-third nominees) 70 lacs have been spent on similar improvements, almost all sanitary in their character, for which the debt of the town has only been increased by 25 lacs, while the annual assessed value has risen to 141 lacs. These figures undoubtedly show some decrease in the rate of progress, but they indicate anything but administrative failure, and many would think that the rate of expenditure has been quite sufficient. On the other hand, the moral advantages gained have been so decisive as to have ceased to attract any attention. Instead of that fire and cross-fire of criticism by the native press directed against everything official, which so lamentably saps the influence and prestige of the Executive Government, we find that the Europeans in Calcutta have now become the critics, and the native community the apologists for the corporation.

Corporations are proverbially unpopular in all cities; but though Calcutta is unsuited to an Octroi, by which means Paris raises almost the whole, and Bombay a large portion,



of its municipal revenue, and though, therefore, direct taxation in the shape of rates on houses—the most unpopular form conceivable in India—is the main source of its revenue, still, owing to the magical effect of the administration being so largely in the hands of native councillors, the Calcutta corporation gets through its ungrateful task of extracting these rates from some forty thousand native householders without seriously endangering its popularity. Moreover, the practical improvement in tone and capacity among those native councillors who have been most assiduous in their work, is the most gratifying result of the experiment of ten years ago. It would be easy, were it not invidious, to point to a number of “Babu” councillors who began their career in the corporation as uncompromising opponents of everything official, but who, by the practical training of administrative work, have now become reasonable men with whom it is a pleasure to sit—men who think for themselves, know how to gauge newspaper clamour at its true value, support what they think good, and oppose what they think bad. A crucial case happened a short time ago which ought alone to satisfy any one of the moderation of the “Babus” when placed in a position of responsibility. The Health officership of Calcutta fell vacant, and the extreme supporters of native claims thought that the opportunity ought not to be lost to bring forward a native medical man. It was not an unreasonable claim, and they chose as their candidate a very competent doctor who had been educated in England. No one could say that Dr. Ghose had not the training necessary for the post. The most experienced judges, however, both in and out of the corporation, were confident that sanitation (always an unpopular science, necessitating in many cases considerable pecuniary outlay) required the energy and initiative of an English doctor, one whose reputation would carry weight with the Government, the public, and the Corporation, and they brought forward as their candidate Dr. Simpson, of Aberdeen, a gentleman who had already established his reputation as a sanitarian.

Everything was against Dr. Simpson's election : he was not personally known, he was not on the spot to canvass, his opponent had many intimate friends among the councillors, his cause with the native majority appealed to race feeling and national pride. Moreover, though most persons familiar with the sanitary problem in Calcutta would admit that the reasons for Dr. Simpson's election preponderated, there was much to be said as to the advantage that would be derived from the superior local experience and knowledge of the people possessed by his rival. The election was by ballot, all in favour of Dr. Ghose ; nevertheless forty votes were recorded for Dr. Simpson, against eighteen for Dr. Ghose, and several of the most experienced native councillors, conspicuous among them Dr. Mohendro Lall Sircar, C.I.E., openly advocated his election, well knowing that they would by so doing be drawing down upon themselves the animadversions of many of the native papers. This is only one of numerous illustrations which might be given of the excellent effects of experience and responsibility on native gentlemen. The "Babus" include men of the most widely different stamp, from the out-and-out supporter of everything English, down to the most irreconcilable foe to our administration. By our present attitude of aversion and distrust, we commit the almost incredible folly of driving all these into one hostile camp. As I wrote on a previous occasion—

"Repress educated natives, distrust them, let them see that the policy of India for the Indians and of training them to administer their own country is a fiction, and you weld them all into one solid phalanx, united by the common bond of despair and hatred towards Europeans. Can any policy be more insensate than this? But open the door to their ambitions, and you at once let in all the emulations, class interests, sectional friction, which, if not in themselves good, are at any rate a necessary element in a healthy state of society, and instead of a solid phalanx you have a crowd of aspirants competing with one another under conditions which the Government will prescribe, and in a race of which it will be the umpire and the distributor of the prizes."

The populous and civilized provinces of India to whom

it is suggested that representative councils might be at once conceded, are full of excellent materials by which the fabric of British rule can be cemented and consolidated, if we will only utilize them generously and without jealousy. In these provinces the educated party in alliance with the Government is strong enough to overcome all the old dangers arising from fanaticism, superstition, prejudice, and class antagonism. If care is taken to constitute councils on the principles indicated in the resolutions of the Congress, they would, I am convinced, form excellent working bodies. India, it must be remembered, is an essentially conservative\* and oligarchic country, and any attempt to introduce democratic institutions would, it may be admitted, be a deplorable blunder. Democratic institutions are no more suited to India at present than to England at the time of Magna Charta; but what is needed is that we should frankly and freely recognize those who are the leading classes and satisfy their legitimate aspirations.

The two oligarchies with which we should now ally ourselves are the aristocracy of wealth, especially wealth in land, and the aristocracy of our own creation, that of English education.† The land-owning class is the great conservative element in the country, dependent entirely on British rule for the security of its tenure and title. Some of the chiefs of the landed aristocracy—such as, in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, the Maharajah of Burdwan, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, and four or five of the great Behar Rajahs, who would not readily seek election by any constituency—ought to be given seats in the council by virtue of their estates. Indeed a provision that all Maharajahs

\* The fact that the educated natives always appear in English politics as Liberals, should not lead to the erroneous impression that Indians are naturally Radicals. The Hindus are conservative and oligarchic to the core.

† It is superfluous to point out that we shall thus steer clear of the error of working with a close aristocracy. Education being free to all, the best and ablest of the lower classes will be continuously joining its ranks, while we shall avoid the fatal mistake of conceding political power to those who do not ask for it, and who will only be tools in the hands of wire-pullers.

(Hindus) and all Nawab Bahadurs (Mahomedans) should have a seat in the council, would not work at all badly. In addition to this, all landowners with a rent roll exceeding a certain amount might be allowed to elect eight or ten councillors. In this way a score of intelligent representatives of the landed interest might be brought together who would form a strong phalanx, the votes of which might be relied on with the utmost confidence, against all measures having the least tendency to affect the security of the Government. They would in many respects be the counterparts of the Knights of the Shire in English parliamentary history, while those who would be returned by the municipalities would correspond with the Burgesses.

The suggestion made by the Congress that the leading municipalities might elect members of the Provincial Council is well worthy of adoption. Their representatives would almost all belong to the educated classes, and would generally be progressive. No salaries are paid to municipal councillors, and therefore in these councillors themselves we have a constituency which can be relied upon to return good, independent, and moderate members of the Provincial Council.

Care must be taken, as the Congress very properly points out, that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented either by election or nomination. The non-official European and Eurasian community, and especially the influential Mahomedans, will be in danger of being effaced if left to find their representatives from ordinary mixed constituencies such as municipalities. The Mahomedans, whether as a survival of their ancient domination, or owing to the educating influences of a well-organized religious community, display some of the qualities of administrators in which the Hindus are comparatively deficient. It has been already stated, that it was the fear that they would be swamped in the competition, and not any want of ambition to share in public work, which

made so many of the Mahomedans reluctant to participate in the National Congress, and a great mistake will be committed if they are not secured their due share of influence in the Provincial Councils.

These principles being accepted, it is unnecessary, in a paper such as this, to go further into detail as regards the constitution of the councils. The objects indicated above can be obtained either by allowing Chambers of Commerce and other recognized associations to return members, or by nomination. The Governor in Madras and Bombay, and the Lieutenant-Governor in Bengal, will of course preside over their councils, and the principal departmental secretaries will have seats in them. Councils thus composed will be indefinitely more amenable to the legitimate influence of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor than are Municipal Boards at the provincial capitals to that of the official who presides over them; and if in these there has been no breakdown, still less is there likely to be any in the Councils. In the affairs of government, knowledge is emphatically power, and only the officials can know the detailed working of the machine. The great bulk of the work will go on very much as at present, while the consciousness that every single act may form the subject of interpellation and discussion will operate as a very salutary check. These discussions will serve far more effectually to open the eyes of intelligent and well-meaning natives to the difficulties of government, than the one-sided articles in the press, whence they derive their information and impressions at the present time. The right of interpellation, far from being an unmixed embarrassment to the Government, will in some respects afford it much-needed relief. The great disadvantage under which the Government labours in having no practical means of answering its critics, has not escaped notice.

If the experiment is only made, the benefits which will result from such councils will soon be so great and so conspicuous that no one will wish to go back upon it.

They should have nothing to do with military matters—this department should remain entirely in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India. On the other hand, the policy of de-centralization in civil matters which has been attended with so much success, should be still further extended. If the Governor, or in Bengal the Lieutenant-Governor, is granted, as the Congress proposes, provisional authority to overrule his council subject to a reference to the Government of India, and the Government of India full powers to intervene and pass any orders it may think fit whenever a *Deus ex machina* is needed, safeguards far more than sufficient will be provided against any intemperate or injudicious acts of the councils ; while the necessity of exercising this over-ruling power in the full light of publicity will be a guarantee against any capricious use of it.

The race acerbity which now prevails in India to so deplorable an extent is very largely due to mutual ignorance ; and nothing is better calculated to diminish this acerbity than association in public work and the free interchange of opinions. It is almost invariably seen that those Europeans who work most with educated natives most respect them ; while very few indeed of the natives who associate with Europeans remain irreconcilable. Our administration in India is neither inefficient nor discreditable, and we have no reason to fear the discussions and criticisms to which it would be exposed by conciliary action. In their early life nearly all English officials in India have gone through the admirable training of the public school, if not the University, and probably no bureaucracy has ever done its work better than the Indian Civil Service, or has been less tainted with narrow or illiberal sentiments ; but still it cannot altogether escape from the vice of all bureaucracies, that of being extremely jealous of its own prerogatives and out of sympathy with all who threaten to trespass on its preserves.

The Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, if well advised,

will appear but seldom in his council as a partizan or a controversialist; he will assume as much as possible the rôle of moderator and arbitrator. In that case he will, like Pericles, carry all before him when ever he does deem it necessary to take a prominent part; while those officials who develop a capacity for explaining the action of the Government in a popular manner, and for carrying with them their colleagues in the council, far from being less influential will become more so than ever, because they will act with the full weight of conciliar approval at their backs. It will soon be found that the Government carry with them the approbation of the prudent, the wise, the wealthy, the moderate and the enlightened natives, in at least the general outlines of their policy; and such evidence will not only tone down to an indefinite extent the now almost invariably hostile criticisms of the native press, since they will be finding fault with their own countrymen, but where such criticism is indulged in, the sting will be effectually taken out of it, when it is seen that the chosen representatives of the community do not concur in it. Moreover, the European press will not be slow to criticise the proceedings of the new councils, and then the native press will take up the cudgels in their defence as they now do on behalf of the municipalities. The Government, acting in concert with its council, will sometimes find support in one quarter, sometimes in another; the crusade against all that is official on the part of the native press will cease, and a far healthier state of public opinion be generated.

It is not for a moment denied that some of the native representatives may at first be animated by sentiments detrimental to the efficiency of the public service. One of the most marked effects of the long era of political subserviency through which the Hindus have passed, is their exaggerated intolerance of even legitimate discretionary authority, and their unwillingness to see executive officers vested with sufficient power to enable them to do their work

efficiently. They are also wanting in that wisdom which led the early American statesmen to provide the Executive with sufficient checks against parliamentary caprice. There will no doubt be some who will be inclined to economize at the cost of effective supervision, and to expect an out-turn of executive bricks out of proportion to the straw provided for their manufacture. But those who hold these views will not be found unamenable to reason, and as in the case of the Municipal Boards, the experience of public life will prove the surest possible corrective of all erroneous conceptions.

It may also be admitted that the representatives of the wealth and education of the country will not be free from the vice of all aristocracies—selfishness, and that where the interests of the poor and uneducated come into conflict with their own, there will be some danger of these interests going to the wall; but it will be the especial duty of the official element in the council to guard against this. It is the great glory of the Indian Civil Service that it has known how to fight the battle of the weak against the strong in the past, and it will certainly not tend to weaken the Government if it is made manifest to the great masses of the country that they must still look to the dominant race to secure them the benefit of equal laws, and their just and impartial administration.

One more argument before this article is brought to a close. Is it necessary to insist upon the urgent importance of familiarizing the leaders of the Indian people with the problems and responsibilities of governing, in order that they may acquire the necessary qualifications to usher in those social and moral reforms which it is almost impossible for us to introduce, but the neglect of which is so serious a menace to the well-being of the country?

It is often said that the educated natives ought first to prove their capacity for political life by their earnestness in reforming social abuses; but is this true to human nature? is it not like telling persons not to go into water till they can swim? Does not all experience prove that if you keep



people in leading-strings and teach them to look up to alien governors for managing their affairs, they will never develop the qualities necessary for uncongenial social reforms; but if people are taught to feel that they are responsible for their own welfare, are induced to breathe the bracing air of free political discussion, there is more hope that they will put their shoulders to the wheel, and carry through such reforms as must depend on their own exertions?

In India, the future dangers arising from the constant increase of population are so serious as to dwarf all the other rocks which threaten the well-being of the country. Difficult enough it is to induce European populations to exercise any self-restraint in the matter of marriage, but in India it does not as yet enter into the conceptions of the people that any such restraint can be necessary: not only is prudence in marrying altogether overlooked, but the waste of the little capital which the people do possess at marriage feasts is enough to sadden the heart of the economist. That the aggregate wealth of India is increasing under its present *régime* is susceptible of such evidence as falls little short of mathematical demonstration. That where the population is sparse wealth is accumulating fast is evident enough; but it is very doubtful indeed whether, in the densely populated tracts where agriculture is almost the only industry, the increasing pressure of the population on the soil is not actually impoverishing the agricultural classes, and the future outlook in these parts of the country is very gloomy. It is certain that under such circumstances a population accustomed to look to its rulers for everything will attribute to their faults and extravagances evils which are really due to far deeper and more radical causes.

Certain also it is that, instead of applying the only remedies which the laws of nature admit of, they will look on a system of administration as self-condemned which does not allow of their multiplying as fast as suits their convenience, while at the same time it combats disease, and averts wars and famines by every means in its power. The

present administration of India, in spite of—possibly even in consequence of—the large salaries paid to its higher functionaries, is perhaps cheaper than that of any civilized country in the world. No mistake can be greater than that which assumes that it is either inefficient or costly; but it is indeed political blindness to suppose that it can stand under the weight of odium which it will ere long have to endure, unless it displays the wisdom of taking the leaders of the people into its confidence, of admitting them to a much larger share of power, and of calling upon them when in a position of responsibility themselves to devise the means of overcoming the social and economical perils with which the country is threatened. It may seem a small remedy for these grave evils to admit some fifty or sixty of the wealthiest, best educated, and most intelligent natives to share with their European fellow-subjects in the work of governing a large province like Bengal; but the beneficial effects will not prove either small or short-lived. These fifty or sixty men will carry with them the confidence of their educated countrymen, which the official hierarchy has in some sense lost; they will have no wish to make radical or fundamental changes, and as the problems of administration are made clear to them, they will find that, save in such questions of detail as are legitimate matters for difference of opinion, no great improvement is possible. A *régime* of dictating and drilling will have given place to one of discussion and persuasion. Europeans will, after a brief experience, cease to think with regard to educated natives that it is impossible that any good thing can come out of Galilee; while intelligent natives will cease to believe that able and conscientious European officers who do good work for good pay, are the Upas tree of the country.

Association in work will bridge over race distinctions and soften national antipathies. The better classes of the country will no longer look upon a Government as alien in which they will largely participate.

H. L. HARRISON.

## VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN INDIA.

FEW books more instructive to the historical student have ever been written than the lectures on Ancient Law, on Early Institutions, and on Village Communities, in which Sir Henry Maine has brought extant or historical facts from different countries to illustrate modern researches into the origin of existing institutions, especially that of property in land. It is my object in the following pages to fortify some of Sir H. Maine's conclusions by an account of facts which have come under my own observation in India. I should premise that the official inquiries which brought these facts to my knowledge were made chiefly in 1861-62, before Sir H. Maine's lectures were published; that at that time I had very little acquaintance with the researches which his works have popularized; and that I, therefore, cannot be suspected of having coloured my facts to support a theory, though from ignorance of what I ought to look for, I probably missed many points which the inquiry I was making might have given me an exceptional opportunity of verifying.

The views which Sir H. Maine adopts may, if I understand them rightly, be briefly stated as follows: There was a period in the history of most Aryan races when the institution of the family, consisting of its patriarchal ruler, the eldest agnate, of its free members, and of its dependents or slaves, had become firmly established; and when groups of such families, united by the real or assumed bond of common lineage, had formed themselves into communities, each inhabiting the same village, independently governed as regards mutual relations by a code of customary rules

administered by a body of elders, bound together for common defence and assistance, and supporting itself by the produce of the lands surrounding the village. These lands were divided into three portions—the township mark or village site, the common mark or waste, and the arable mark. The first was inhabited by the community, and the second was enjoyed by the community, for pasturage, &c., in mixed ownership, under communal rules. The third was cut out of the waste, and originally shifted occasionally from one part of it to another and tilled in common, but when this ceased to be the case (as happened in Europe generally at a very early period), cultivated in individual lots of the several families, who still assisted each other with their own labour and that of their cattle. The arable mark was usually divided into three great fields, for a rotation of two years' crops, and one year fallow, and each field was cut up into a number of strips, corresponding to the number of families in the township. These plots, originally equal in area, or perhaps varying with the number of plough cattle possessed by each family (since cattle, as Sir H. Maine has shown, became private property sooner than land), were at first annually interchangeable, by lot or otherwise, among the households. They afterwards became permanently and hereditarily attached to each family, and then, of course, the division, being *per stirpes*, not *per capita*, was no longer equal. In any case, each holder had to conform to the general rule for the crops to be annually sown and for the fallow, and when the crops had been harvested, the whole arable mark became subject to the common right of pasturage.

This system was greatly modified under the process known as feudalization, which afterwards took place almost throughout Europe. The free self-governing community became subject to a lord (however he arose), and the jurisdiction of the ruling body of elders was transferred to the Lord's Courts. The common mark became the lord's waste, his property, though certain common rights, of

pasturage and the like, still survived in it. Much of the cultivated land became the lord's domain (whether this was originally the share of his family in the arable mark, or was colonized by him out of the waste), cultivated by his servants or serfs for his profit, and exempt from the common rules of cultivation.

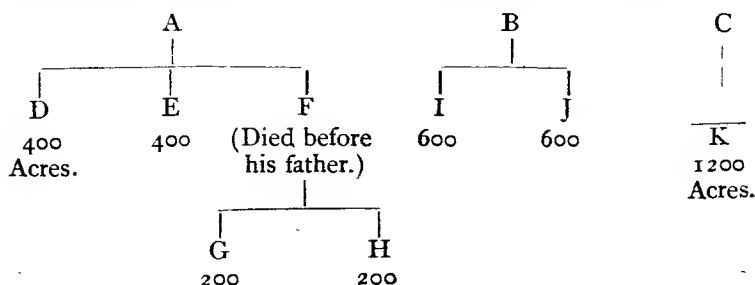
But traces of the earlier system may still be found, even in England; and I will now try to show that a system substantially identical with it survives, or survived to a very recent period, in parts of India.

The most usual form of the village community in Southern, Western, and Central India is now that of a mere aggregate of cultivating households, each tilling its own holding independently of the rest, presided over by the head of a leading family. Under British administration each cultivator has generally developed into an independent proprietor, and the position of the hereditary headman has become merely official, though in some tracts the reverse process has taken place; the headman has grown into the village landlord, and the cultivators have become his tenants, with or without certain defined tenant-rights. But in either case, the bond that unites the village community is now, though it probably was not always so, merely that of propinquity; the peasants have little in common beyond living in the same village, and having certain relations to the same person or family. The case is widely different in some of the provinces of Upper India, as well as in the tract of Western India, the fertile plain of Guzerát, in which I made the inquiry referred to above. Here there are numerous villages held on a system of joint responsibility for the Government revenue, closely resembling, indeed often identical with, that of the village communities of the North-West Provinces. The constitution of these villages varies much in detail, but the general type is as follows:

The lands of the village are divided into the village site, the common land, and the several holdings of the members of the community, each class being distinguished by a name.

The common lands comprise the village pasturage and woodland, fields assigned as remuneration to village servants, fields let to non-proprietary cultivators on behalf of the community, and fields sold or mortgaged for its benefit, a quit-rent being usually reserved. The several lands are primarily divided into estates corresponding, it is assumed, to the original families of the founders of the village or of their immediate descendants. Some land in each share is often reserved in common to its joint owners; the remainder is divided among them in accordance with the rule of inheritance. The responsibility for the Government revenue is divided in the same way as the lands, and is measured by arbitrary symbols (often called "annas," an anna being one-sixteenth of a rupee), each representing a certain area of the land in severalty. A member of the proprietary body is thus said to own, not such and such fields, or so many acres in the village, but a one-anna or two-anna share of the village. Each proprietor is answerable for a share of the Government revenue proportionate to his share in the proprietary right, the holders of each primary estate being usually in the first instance responsible for each other, and in the last resort the whole co-parcenary being jointly answerable for the payment of the whole amount, the land of any defaulter reverting to those who paid for him.

An example will make this system clearer. Suppose that a village containing 5,000 acres was, as its tradition alleges, originally founded by the families of three brothers; that 1,400 acres were reserved as common land; and that the primary division of the remainder was made, in accordance with the Hindu rules of inheritance, as below:



The several lands are thus divided, *per stirpes*, into seven unequal primary estates. The symbol of responsibility would probably be Rs.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , or 36 annas, each anna representing 100 acres. Suppose that in any year the Government demand on the village is Rs. 9,000. The co-parcenary would first devote to its payment the profits of the common land, say Rs. 1,800, and would then fix on their own body a rate of Rs. 200 per anna, which ( $\text{Rs. } 200 \times 36 = \text{Rs. } 7,200$ ) would make up the balance. The owner of two annas (or 200 acres of the several land) would pay Rs. 400, the owner of one-quarter anna Rs. 50; and so on. But perhaps the descendants of C had not divided the whole of his original share, but 900 acres only, keeping 300 acres common in their own family. One anna would then, with them, represent 75 acres only, not 100. They would, therefore, do for their own estate precisely what was done for the whole village: they would first appropriate to the payment of their share, Rs. 2,400, of the whole village revenue, the profits of their common land, say Rs. 600, and would then make up the balance by a rate of Rs. 150 per anna ( $\text{Rs. } 150 \times 12 = \text{Rs. } 1,800 + \text{Rs. } 600 = \text{Rs. } 2,400$ ).

In such villages as these, although the whole population is often loosely styled the "village community," the term should strictly be confined to the body of proprietors, each, however small his share, having equal rights with the rest. This corporation governs itself and the village generally by a committee consisting of the headman of each primary share. This headman is usually the eldest agnate of the family, but is sometimes roughly elected, sometimes a man prominent by wealth or energy who has usurped the leadership. He individually manages the general affairs of the estate he represents, and jointly with his fellow-headmen the affairs of the whole co-parcenary and of the village generally. The rest of the population has no share in the village government. It comprises traders and artisans, the village officials or servants of the community (whether respected and influential, such as the priest and accountant, or menial,

such as the scavengers), and cultivators, tenants of the community or of individual sharers, who, though they often, especially in the former case, enjoy customary rights and • practically own their holdings, are not members of the proprietary body.\*

The resemblance of this state of things to that described by Sir H. Maine is obvious. But closer examination reveals many more points of similarity, and shows traces of the system which still survives in India having passed through stages identical with those of the Teutonic village community.

The alleged kinship of the families which make up the Guzerát community is the first thing which strikes the observer. They call themselves the "brotherhood." They generally profess to trace to a common ancestor, and have sometimes genealogies which support this claim. The primary shares sometimes bear the names of the brothers or cousins who are believed to have first divided the original joint family. The whole brotherhood generally worship the same local god, who is, perhaps, though I cannot speak positively on this point, rather a family deity. It often happens that one of the headmen claims a primacy over the others, on the ground of his being the representative of the eldest male line of the original founder. This has led (in accordance with the Indian rule of primogeniture, that hereditary official position descends to the eldest agnate†) to his securing the administrative and judicial position of village manager and magistrate, and this again is one of the principal causes which has so often destroyed the joint government of the committee of headmen, and occasioned the break-up of the more perfect form of community.‡ Even when kinship is not alleged, the community is generally of the same "caste" (which in itself implies a

\* In the above description I have used the present tense. But the system was growing obsolete even in 1861, and has since rapidly degenerated.

† "Ancient Law," Fourth Edition, p. 233.

‡ "Village Communities," Fourth Edition, p. 155.



real or assumed relationship), and the families will not intermarry.

This kinship, however, does not always exist. In several villages the primary shares are held by families who not only do not allege relationship, but are of different "castes" or tribes. In some such cases the traditional account may be true that the village was originally founded by an association of families not of the same blood. But usually, I believe, the real explanation is that given by Sir H. Maine,\* that the original community were, for some reason, induced to admit strangers to a share of proprietary right. In one of the largest towns in Kaira, there are six primary estates and six distinct families. Two of these admit their relationship; four, including these, are of the same "caste"; but the other two are traditionally said to have been the communities of two distant villages, who, flying from oppression in their own homes, were admitted to a share of proprietary right.

The actual practice of occasionally shifting the arable mark to different parts of the waste still exists (or, at least, existed thirty years ago) in some of the wilder frontier villages of Guzerát. Every third year the villagers agreed in what locality they would cultivate. By having their crops all in one part of the village lands they could assist each other in guarding them against thieves or wild animals, very necessary in wild tracts, while the change supplied the fallows which want of manure made requisite. When they had settled this, they divided themselves into small cultivating firms of two to six men; the headman allotted land to each firm; the members cultivated in common, and when the crops were reaped, divided the grain, after paying the revenue, generally in proportion to the number of plough bullocks each member had put into the common cultivating stock. This system, it will be observed, closely resembles the co-tillage of the ancient North Welsh. Though in the densely peopled central tract in which the

\* "Ancient Law," p. 263.

joint communities I am describing are found, cultivation has long become permanent, and waste has disappeared, yet indications are not wanting that the cultivated land originally formed a fluctuating portion of a large waste mark. When the crops have been removed all the fields (except when permanently enclosed) are still open to common pasturage, and the people still speak of the village cattle being then sent to graze in the "sim," the word originally meaning the waste surrounding the cultivated area.

We may safely assume that a system of common cultivation and common disposal of the produce prevailed before the division of the joint family which originally founded a Hindu village. Surviving customs of that important institution of a Guzerát village, the "khalli," or common threshingfloor, clearly point to such a state of things. It would seem that all the grain—then, as now, almost the only production and food for the year of the peasantry—was thrown together when threshed in a single heap; that the different dues, that of the king or chief—the "Raj-bhag," the ancestor of the modern land revenue—and those of the priest, of the artisans, and of the other village servants and officials, were first deducted, and that the balance was then divided among the members of the proprietary family. The produce of lands specially assigned, as, *e.g.*, for the support of a temple, was excluded from the "khalli."

The period when the land itself was appropriated in distinct, though probably at first interchangeable, lots seems to have been when the original family first separated into branches, each under the *patria potestas* of its own head. The fact of the existing division into primary estates, sometimes named from the separating members, clearly points to this. In England and Germany, it is fully established, the separate lots of land in severalty were originally not permanently appropriated, and long remained interchangeable annually or

periodically. One great factor in effecting the permanent individualization of land must have been its improvement, since one member of the community would not willingly relinquish to another a field which he had improved. Now in India the earliest and most important improvements are the planting of fruit-trees and the digging of wells. It is remarkable that, in the part of the country of which I am writing, it is a common custom that the sale of land does not, except under express stipulation, convey the fruit-trees or well in it, and consequently that the land often belongs to one person, and the fruit-trees or well to another. In the latter case, the owner of the land raises the first, or rain, crop; the owner of the well the second, irrigated, crop.\* This looks like a survival of a custom when holdings were interchangeable, that the family which had made improvements retained a lien on them after the land had passed out of its hands. But in the villages I am describing, after the lands had been permanently appro-

\* I cannot refrain from telling here a curious story relating to this custom. When a settlement officer, I received, one day, a petition from the headman of a village, to the effect that a certain field was wrongly assessed at garden rates, though really not irrigable. On inquiry, it appeared that the field contained an excellent old well, but that it was not used for irrigation. Asking the reason for this, I was told, after some hesitation, that the well had belonged to a man who was on bad terms with the owner of the field, and was also very unpopular in the village, being suspected of sorcery; that for this reason he had, many years before, been driven from the village, but that before leaving he had put a "Bhút" (ghost or demon) into the well, and that from that time any attempt at irrigation from it was followed by the death of the cultivator or his bullocks. "Well," I said, "it is not reasonable that on this account the Government should lose its due; if the 'Bhút' holds the well, the 'Bhút' must pay the revenue." So I told my clerk to write, in polite terms, a notice addressed to "the respectable ghost who lives in such a well," to the effect that I was informed by the village headman that the well belonged to him; that the garden assessment on the field was so much, which the cultivator could not pay unless he had the use of the well; and that if within a week I did not hear that the "Bhút" was willing to pay the assessment, I should conclude that he did not wish to retain the well, and should give possession of it to the cultivator. The notice was wrapped round a stone and solemnly thrown into the well in the presence of the people. It is needless to say that no answer was received, and at the end of a week the cultivator cheerfully took possession of the well, and I never heard again of the Bhút.

priated, a redistribution sometimes took place within historical times, the nature of which deserves particular attention.

The system described above (p. 131) is, as regards the position of the community to the Government Land Revenue, a very modern one. The original land revenue system in Western India, if not all over India, which lasted in Sind till the British Conquest, and still survives in great part of Káthiawár, was that of actual division of the produce between the cultivator and the king or chief. It was afterwards modified to the "Kaltar" system, by which the value of the king's share was annually estimated and levied in money from the community. This was again changed by the Mahomedan rulers to a fixed cash assessment, determined by a valuation of the land. And, in later Mahomedan times, and especially under the Mahrattas, the ruinous farming system, under which the demand was limited solely by the ability of the peasant to pay, superseded all others. In one fine village, with the history of which I am well acquainted, the total Government demand was thus raised from Rs. 700 to Rs. 5,250, besides a number of other exactions, between A.D. 1744 and 1812. Under this stress many joint communities broke down, and all traces of the original proprietary rights disappeared. But when the proprietary bodies succeeded in retaining the management of their villages, they invented the system described above (p. 131), the theory of which, as has been explained, was simply that each member was held responsible for a share of the revenue which might in any year be demanded from the village proportionate to his hereditary share in the proprietary right. The advantage to the people of this system, I may observe, was that it alone afforded some security that the cultivator should reap the fruits of his own industry, since under it the amount of the revenue which the Government could levy from the village was limited by the ability to pay not of those sharers who had improved their lands, but by that of those who had not.

But it was found in many villages that, owing to sales and interchanges, the actual division of the land differed from the hereditary shares in proprietary right. When the discrepancy was so wide as to make it impossible for those who had retained little land to pay their quota of the revenue demand, one of two courses was adopted. Either the symbols representing shares were adapted to the actual division of the land, or the land was redistributed so as again to correspond to the division of hereditary right.\* The latter method very closely resembles the periodical redistribution of village lands in some parts of Russia.†

Although, as is observed by Sir H. Maine,‡ natural reasons—the conditions of agriculture in a tropical country, the much greater variety of crops in India than in ancient England or Germany, and the necessity in India of obtaining a fine tilth by cross-ploughing, which led to individual fields being square-shaped, instead of in long strips as in England—render it improbable that a system of cultivation bearing any close resemblance to the Teutonic three-field system ever existed generally in India, yet there are traces of a common method of tillage to which all the peasants were obliged to adhere somewhat similar to that system. Thus, in some places the village lands are still distinguished as belonging to separate contiguous tracts, or “thals,” which seem to have been once appropriated to distinct crops. In the Broach district, villages are still classed as “Khánam” or “Bhádol,” according as the customary fallow was originally given every third or every fourth year, though the system of regular fallowing has long since disappeared with improved agriculture. And, as Sir H. Maine has not omitted to notice,§ under the peculiar circumstances of cultivation by irrigation, something very like the three-field system actually exists. In the Khándesh

\* Some villages still possess documents showing the arrangement adopted.

† “Ancient Law,” p. 267. See also “Village Communities,” p. 112.

‡ “Village Communities,” p. 108.

§ “Village Communities,” p. 110.

villages, watered from dams in rivers, the whole irrigable area is divided into three or four sections, according as the customary rotation is threefold (as rice, sugar-cane, wheat) or fourfold (as rice, sugar, wheat, and a fallow); each peasant in the village has a plot of land in each section; he is required to conform strictly to the customary rotation; the water supply is allotted to each section in accordance with the requirements of its crop for the year (the rice getting water from July to November; the wheat, from October to February; the sugar, all the year round). And within the section each holder is allowed to water his plot in regular rotation for a number of hours proportionate to its area.

These facts seem to support Sir H. Maine's conclusion, that the original form of organized society was the same among the Aryan races of India and the Teutonic nations of Europe. It would be interesting to inquire—did the limits of this paper and my own knowledge admit—whether the changes through which the Indian village community has passed bear any resemblance to the European process of feudalization. My own impression is, that in one important respect they do not. It would appear that among the Teutonic races,\* the lord commonly came into existence from within the community itself. He was the noblest, the eldest in blood, of the village freemen; the primacy which this gave him† was gradually developed into a lordship over the community; and the lord then extended his sway over other villages by conquest. But in India, so far as I know, this seldom occurred. The lord who now possesses the proprietary right in so many villages in Native, as well as in British, territory, came, I think, from without, not from within the community. It is quite true that many chiefs, especially among the Mahrattas, sprang from leading families in village communities. Holkar still prides himself on being "patel," or headman of a Dekkan village. There

\* "Village Communities," Lecture V.

† See p. 133, above.

is a village in Khândesh, the patel of which boasts that Sindia is a cadet of his family. It is not many years since an heir to the vacant throne of the herdsmen kings of Baroda was sought and found in the family of a Násik patel. The Brahmin Peshwas, again, were hereditary accountants of a Kônkan village. But in these and many more cases the founder of the house did not begin by establishing his supremacy over his native village ; he went out of it in search of fortune, and gained dominion elsewhere.

There are, indeed, many and important exceptions to this rule. In Northern India, I believe, the "village zemindar" is often the head of one family in the community, who has acquired the lordship.\* And in the Central Provinces the heads of villages have very commonly been made their proprietors by an act of the British Government. But generally, I believe, the lords to whom the bulk of the village lands, or at least the rent of the lands, belongs almost everywhere in India (except where, as in the greater part of the South and West, the system is that of a peasant proprietary, or where, as in parts of Upper and Western India, the original village communities have survived the chiefs), have no blood relationship with the communities they dominate, and seem to me to have originated in one of two ways.

First, India (or rather Aryan India, for I am not writing of the tracts in which the prevalent population is of non-Aryan blood) has always, from the earliest times of which we know anything, been monarchical. The village communities were never absolutely independent, as they seem to have once been among the Teutonic races ; they always, at least, that is, since the Aryans settled in India, owed dues and service to a king external to themselves, and usually not allied to them by caste or blood relationship. Manu speaks, without any reservation, of the king (according to Manu's theory, a Kshatrya, while his subjects would be

\* "Village Communities," p. 156.

classed as Vaisyas and Sudras) always having a right to a share of the produce and to services from his people. But this king was not always, perhaps not generally, a powerful monarch of widely extending territory, but was the lord of a few villages, such as are still many of the so-called Rajas of Rajputana or Káthiawár. The monarchy, great or small, was constantly being subdivided, by the assignment, by way of appanage for their subsistence, of the royal rights in single villages or groups of villages to cadets of kingly houses. Each such petty chief bore a quasi-feudal relation to the head of his house, or to some other more powerful monarch, but he was the king as far as the people of his own territory were concerned. And—though it is not of course meant that many of the landed aristocracy of modern India can claim blood descent from one of these primeval rulers; the lines have been changed over and over again by conquest or revolution during many centuries of intestine strife and foreign war—it can hardly, I think, be doubted that many an existing landlord is the successor in title of an ancient Raja.

The other and more general origin of existing superior territorial rights in India is to be sought in more recent times, under Mahomedan rule, and particularly when the Mogul Empire was breaking up, in the assignment of the Crown rights in single villages or tracts of country to individuals, either as reward for services rendered, as stipend for service to be rendered (such as the maintenance of a body of troops), or, most common of all, merely for administration, the assignee or “farmer” being entrusted with jurisdiction, and either engaging to pay a fixed sum for his charge, making what he could out of the Crown share of the produce, or accounting for it to the treasury with the deduction of a percentage for the trouble of collection and administration. Such assignments, originally temporary and personal, soon became, like the feudal benefices which they in some respects resemble, hereditary. This change, always natural in India, must have seemed



more than usually just when, as was often the case, the assignee was originally selected on account of the local influence or position of his family.

It seems to have been almost universal that the holder or assignee of Crown rights took possession of a certain portion of land, probably from the waste mark, as his domain. Such lands are found, under different names, all over India. They seem to have been cultivated by the serfs or dependants of the lord for the subsistence of his household, and to have been free from any customary rules of cultivation. It was natural that, as in Europe, the free tenure of the "ryoti" lands, or original cultivated mark of the community, should have tended to degenerate into the servile holding of the cultivators of the domain. The process even now gives rise to litigation. In Bengal, a common subject of dispute between the peasantry and the European planter who has bought or hired a Zemindari estate with a view to the cultivation of indigo, is whether particular fields in which the planter requires that crop to be grown are a portion of the Zemindar's "seer" or domain, or are "ryoti" lands, since in the former case the holder of Zemindari rights may prescribe the cultivation to his tenant; in the latter, this would be an usurpation.

But another cause was even more efficient in reducing, over great part of India, the free peasant cultivator and member of a proprietary community to the position of the tenant, often the tenant-at-will, of a lord. The most important of the king's rights which, in either of the ways above described, descended or were assigned to individuals, was that of receiving the "Ráj-bhág" or Crown share of the produce, very generally commuted into a cash payment under Mahomedan rule. It is easy to understand that this due soon developed into a rent or rack-rent. Its amount was not always fixed, even in theory, and was exceedingly uncertain in practice. It was liable, under ancient customs, to be swelled by all sorts of special or exceptional additions. The interest of its holder was always to increase it, while in

the absence of settled law and regular courts of justice the only remedy of the cultivator was to abandon his land and take up other land elsewhere. This resource, always inconvenient, was practicable only as long as waste land was readily available, while it tended to break up the original communities and to weaken the protection which their customs might have afforded against exaction.

It comes, then, to this, that the individual superior proprietary right which has in India so widely succeeded to the rights of communities has almost always originated in a development and *morcellement* of Crown or royal rights, and that the origin of rent in India must be sought in a development of the ancient dues of the king; and in this way the same result took place as in Europe,\* that the group of families democratically organized and governed became a group of tenants holding from a lord.

W. G. PEDDER.

\* "Village Communities," p. 133.

## THE POLICE OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.\*

THE Indian police is organized upon a very elaborate system. And, indeed, when the multiplicity of the duties which the force is called upon to discharge, and the paucity of numbers with which it is expected to do its work, are taken into consideration, it is clear that only the excellence of its mechanism could enable the machinery to cope with its allotted task. The system is not altogether identical in the various provinces that compose the Indian Empire. My object in this paper is to describe the working of the Bombay police, with which I am personally familiar, and compare it, as far as may be practicable, with the police of England and Wales. My figures exclude all the Native States of the Presidency, such as Baroda, Kathiáwár, and Kolhápúr, but they include the town and island of Bombay. The English figures are those published for the English and Welsh counties and boroughs, together with the Metropolitan constabulary.

The most striking difference that will be noticed, on a comparison between the English and Indian police, is the enormous preponderance of work exacted from the latter. The area of England and Wales is, in round numbers, 58,000 square miles. That of the Bombay Presidency is over 124,000, or more than twice as large. But while the total force of police in England and Wales numbers 35,600, that of Bombay is only 21,400, or considerably less than two-thirds of the former. Startling as this may seem, the dif-

\* Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1885-86. Bombay : printed at the Government Central Press, 1886.

Judicial Statistics, 1885, England and Wales. Part I., Police—Criminal Proceedings. London : Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1886.

ference is really very much more astonishing than it appears at first sight. For these 21,400 Bombay policemen include a large number of men employed on the guarding of a multitude of treasuries, the escort of Government treasure, the personal escort of officers, the guarding of gaols, and various other quasi-military and miscellaneous duties, none of which are required of the English police. The number of men really employed on the legitimate duties of a police force, viz., in the preservation of law and order, the investigation of crime, and execution of processes, who are denominated in the Government returns as employed on "station duties," is only 13,800—a number not much exceeding one-third of that employed in England and Wales, while it has to keep in order a country twice the size. To put the figures in another form, while in England—and, to save repetition, with England I include Wales—each policeman has an average of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  square miles of country to control, each man in Bombay has not less than  $10\frac{3}{4}$  square miles. The population is not, of course, so thick in Bombay, that of England amounting to 28,000,000, and that of Bombay to only 16,000,000; but the figures based on the proportion of police to population are nevertheless remarkable. There is one policeman in England for each 772 of the population; but in Bombay, taking the whole of the police, there is 1 to 832, or, taking those employed on station duties, which affords the true comparison, only 1 to each 1,360. In other words, each Bombay policeman has to look after  $10\frac{3}{4}$  square miles of country and 1,360 people, while the English policeman has only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  square miles and 772 people. Moreover, while the total cost of the English police slightly oversteps the large sum of £3,500,000, or £99 9s. per man, the cost of the Bombay police is, taking a rupee to be the equivalent of two shillings, only £391,600, or only £18 10s. per man per annum.

But if the area and population may not be deemed fair or sufficient tests, let us take the amount of crime that has to be dealt with. In 1885 the total number of cogniz-

able cases in Bombay, the figures of which have shown a steady decrease for years, amounted to 66,000, while the indictable crime in England for the corresponding period, which may supply an approximately accurate comparison, was 44,000; so the Bombay policeman has considerably more crime to investigate than his English contemporary. The arrests in Bombay numbered 43,000, against the English 19,200; in both cases rather more than half the persons arrested being ultimately convicted. The amount of stolen property recovered in Bombay was 46 per cent. of that which was feloniously appropriated. I cannot find the corresponding figures for the English counties; possibly they have not been compiled. But the amount recovered in London was less than 20 per cent.; the Bombay police being thus far more successful than those of the English metropolis. Of the 166 murders in Bombay, the perpetrators were convicted in one out of three cases; of the 136 in England, the same result was obtained only in one out of 5½. Of the remaining more serious offences in the Bombay list for 1885, 66 were dacoities or gang robberies—a form of crime that has been wonderfully reduced of late years, but which has not yet been wiped off the list as it has at home. Bombay shows a total of 3,500 burglaries against 3,200 in England. While crimes of open violence are becoming fewer and fewer, the Indian police appear yearly less able to match themselves against the skill of professional burglars. These people avail themselves freely of the railway and telegraph; and only the other day the perpetrators of an unusually large burglary in the South of India were arrested, and the plunder recovered, at Delhi. In comparing the results of the police it has also to be remembered that while the English policemen are all educated, only 34 per cent. of the Bombay force can read and write a simple report of a crime.

Nor is it due to the inhabitants of the Bombay Presidency being naturally peaceful or law-abiding that these, on the whole, marvellously successful results are obtained.

The population is sprung in great measure from the warlike Maráthas, who, inspired by the daring Shiwáji, carried fire and sword over the length and breadth of the land, till they watered their horses in the Indus and the Hughli; against whom the enormous armies of Aurangzib hurled themselves in vain for half a century, and to protect themselves from whose incursions the English merchants in distant Calcutta had to dig the trench known as the Marátha ditch. Not alone the Maráthas, but the sons of the fierce pirates of the western coast—the infamous brood of the Angrias—who were to the Maráthas what the carrion crow is to the vulture, still dwell in their ancestral haunts, though instead of piratical barks they have been taught to man English lifeboats. For generations the East India Company failed to subdue them, and the cost of the fleet, which the merchants had to maintain to defend their shipping from the pirates of Kolába and Gheria, amounted to no less than £40,000 a year. In Khándesh we have actually enrolled in the police the wild forest tribe of the Bhils, whose fathers, down to the last Marátha war of 1817, murdered and robbed all that came within their range, and whose subsistence depended upon the fruits of pillage and plunder. In Sind, again, there are the descendants of the wild Beluchi soldiers who proved themselves foemen worthy of our steel at the battles of Miáni and Hydarábád. All these have been compelled, by the irresistible might of British law, to turn their swords into ploughshares; but the establishment of the Pax Britannica is due to the strength of the rulers, and not to any favourable nature of the soil for the growth of this exotic plant. So it cannot be held that it is the gentleness of their breeding which makes it possible for the population to be held in check by so small a body of men. In keeping order the police receive no aid from the military. Since the railway has penetrated to nearly every district small detachments of troops have been abolished, and all troops concentrated at a few large stations.

What secures the success which, in spite of various short-

comings, has undoubtedly been attained, is the admirable and uniform system under which the police work is carried on, and the thorough and untiring supervision of the European officers who see that it is rigidly enforced. Without their supervision the system would soon fall to pieces. Natives have yet to show themselves capable of filling the administrative grades of the department. The final authority over the whole force is centralized in the hands of Government, in marked contrast with the English method, by which the constabulary belongs to the various counties and boroughs.

The unit of administration is the district, the Presidency being divided into twenty-three. A district corresponds more or less with an English county, except that it is usually somewhat larger than Yorkshire; while Khándesh exceeds in area the other districts in the same degree that Yorkshire goes beyond the ordinary English county. A district would have on the average eight hundred police of all grades, at the head of whom is the district superintendent, who is either a military, or, nowadays more usually, a civil officer. His position is analogous to that of the chief constable of an English county, that title being reserved in Bombay for officers of a lower rank. The district superintendent is nominally subject to the control of the collector and district magistrate, who is the highest Government official in the district; but that officer has such a multitude of duties to discharge, that his connection with the police is not as a rule very close. An inspector-general of police also exercises authority over the whole Presidency. As a matter of fact everything depends upon the district superintendent. Besides seeing that the administration of the law is properly carried out, he has to supervise the internal economy of his corps in no less a degree than the colonel of a regiment. The recruiting of the men, their training both in law and in drill and musketry, their general education in the police school at headquarters, the regular monthly payment of their salaries, the careful registration of each

man's services in view of his ultimate pension, the duties of orderly-room, the patient hearing of complaints and the redressing of grievances of the men, the deciding their endless conflicting claims for promotion, the providing them with uniform and accoutrements, the seeing that the men are smart and clean, the general maintenance of discipline—all these and a vast number of other duties have to be done before he can begin to think of the responsibilities of the police to the public. It need hardly be said that, to carry out this system in its integrity, there is needed a full and complete series of registers and accounts, let alone a large amount of correspondence. There is also the yearly repair of police buildings and the construction of such as do not cost more than one thousand rupees. On this account, as well as for stores and clothing, no inconsiderable sum of money passes through his hands. The duties comprised under the term "internal economy" have been compared with those of an officer commanding a regiment; but they are in reality much more onerous, for while a regiment is as a rule concentrated in one place, the police of a district are scattered all over it in minute detachments.

A district is divided for general administrative purposes into a certain number of petty divisions called *tálukas*, say an average of ten per district. In each of these there is a "police station" in charge of an officer called a chief constable, who is to the *táluka* what the superintendent is to the district. The greater part of the *táluka* police are directly under the eye of the chief constable at the *táluka* headquarters; but there are also some four or five outposts, each under the charge of a head-constable or petty officer. A number of villages, varying from thirty to sixty, are assigned to each outpost; and every village has to be visited by a constable at least twice a month, and by the head-constable once a month, for the purpose of picking up information and supervising suspected characters and habitual criminals. In some large districts there is an assistant superintendent to aid the district



superintendent in his work, and every district has one or more inspectors to exercise a general supervision over the chief constables. An inspectorship is the highest rank to which a native police officer can attain, and the pay rises to 250 rupees a month. The chief constable is a most important personage, for under the superintendent the whole working of the police really depends upon him. He has to inspect all his outposts once a month, investigate all serious crimes on the spot wherever they may occur, keep a large number of registers of criminal investigation and other matters, and above all send every day to the district superintendent a full diary of all that has been done in his *táluka* with regard to the investigation of each crime that is reported until a final report is submitted. Head-constables of outposts have no power to investigate an offence without authority from the chief constable; and every complaint must be reported to that officer for orders. When there is no necessity for him to investigate a case himself he sends one of his head-constables, or orders the outpost head-constable to inquire into it. The investigating officer in each case has day by day to record his proceedings in a diary.

There are great difficulties in the way of all investigation of criminal offences in India, and the greatest of all is the supineness and *vis inertiae* of the population. An Englishman, it is true, does not like to spend a day, or still less several days, in giving evidence in a law court, but still he does it as a matter of course when the necessity occurs. But the Hindu, unless his own interests are involved (and in such cases no journey is too long for him in order to get his adversary fined or imprisoned), has so keen a dislike to leaving his fields for the annoyances inseparable from attendance at a court of justice, that he will deny all knowledge of crimes that he has seen committed with his own eyes. He also fears that the vengeance of the accused person after his release may be directed against those who have borne witness against him, and so

deems it expedient to know as little as possible. Another great difficulty is that about one complaint out of four is deliberately and maliciously false. A false case often takes quite as much time and trouble to investigate as a true one ; but a lazy chief constable will often report a true case as a false one, in order to rid himself of the obligation to prosecute it up to final conviction, and also for the purpose of getting it struck off the register, and so show a small list of crimes in his *táluka* in the general returns.

What greatly and needlessly adds to the work of the police, is the enormous number of warrants and summonses which are sent to them for execution by the *Mámlatdár* or native magistrate of the *táluka*. In England, a magistrate is chary of issuing a summons until he has satisfied himself that the charge can be fairly substantiated ; but the native magistrate will issue process for the *appéarance* of ten accused, and as many witnesses, on an application unsupported by any testimony, and probably made out of spite. The serving of the process will probably occupy several constables for several days. I have never in my experience known a native magistrate refuse an application. The matter has to be left to their discretion. Were pressure put upon them, they would inevitably refuse to issue summons in the very case in which the issue was most necessary.

Except in the city of Bombay and a few cantonments and other places, where batons only are used, the police are all armed. About one-third of the force, known, *par excellence*, as the armed branch, carry muzzle-loading carbines of a very obsolete pattern, and the rest, known as the un-armed branch, carry swords and batons. All recruits alike go through, on enlistment, a complete course of drill as far as the end of company drill ; but it is difficult to keep it up with much efficiency, except in the armed branch, who are generally smart and steady on parade. In most districts there is also a squadron of mounted police, armed with swords and carbines or revolvers, for the patrol of roads and frontiers. The purchase of their horses is another of

the manifold duties that fall to the lot of the district superintendent. Another is the proper guarding and patrol of large cities and cantonments, especially at night; and this involves great responsibility, and a system suited to the particular incidents of each place. The uniform of the force, both of the officers and men, is very neat and workmanlike. Besides the district police, there is a distinct branch of railway police, who are under a separate superintendent for each railway. These men are armed only with batons. Their duties are to keep order amongst the crowd on the station platforms, and to guard the goods lying in the sheds.

At the end of the year each district superintendent has to submit to the inspector-general and the commissioner of the division a report, teeming with figures and bristling with all sorts of involved percentages and calculations on the results of his past year's work, showing the fluctuations of crime, and the causes by which he accounts for them. It is always a great relief when this task is completed; but even after the report is submitted, it is often returned for some further reference or explanation.

For many years past there has been a steady improvement in the force; but it may be questioned if the improvement will continue, unless the pay of the town grades is very considerably raised. Their pay has remained stationary for years, while the wages of all classes have risen; the extension of railways and mills having greatly increased the demand for unskilled labour. It is a matter of common notoriety that the class of recruits is not so good as it was some years ago, while far more work is exacted from each member of the force.

Nearly all the work of a district superintendent is, of course, carried on in the vernacular languages, of which, not counting Hindustáni, there are four in the Presidency—Maráthí, Guzaráthí, Kánarese, and Sineli. An officer has to pass in the language of each district that he may be sent to.

During the rainy season, unless some serious crime is committed, the superintendent remains at his headquarters, and gives his special attention to the drill and setting up of his reserve. But, by the end of October, when the dry season has fairly set in, he moves into camp and wanders about from place to place, inspecting police-stations and outposts, till the rains drive him into the station at the end of the following May. It is essentially a nomadic life. In a good district, where there is sport to be found, it is by no means an unpleasant one—at all events during the cold weather. But in March, April, and May, when the hot winds roar around the tents, and every outline is blurred and distorted by mirage, it is difficult to do more than suffer one's existence. Besides the duties of inspection, whenever there is a murder, dacoity, or other serious crime, the superintendent must hurry off, no matter how great the distance may be, and investigate it personally, unless the report bringing news of the crime tells him that it has been detected and the accused person arrested.

Altogether the duties of a district superintendent are very laborious and responsible. They require no inconsiderable amount of skilled knowledge, and they entail unwearied exertion. A good superintendent can get excellent work out of his native subordinates; but should he be negligent or weak, the whole working of the district will fall to pieces like a house of cards. While so much depends upon these officers, it is to be regretted that their prospects of late years have been falling off. Promotion is completely blocked, while Government, instead of giving heed to their grievances, shows an inclination to cut down pay and travelling allowances.

EDMUND C. COX.

## THE ART OF ACQUIRING GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION.

AT the meeting of the British Association which was held at Manchester last September, a very interesting and lively discussion took place on the limits and scope of geographical science. On the one hand, it was argued that "geography" was an indefinite expression, possessed of great powers of expansion, which might readily extend into fields entirely ungeographical, so that the study of geography might, and perhaps ought to, include the study of so many other branches of science, that the original limited and generally accepted meaning of the word would almost be lost to sight—buried in a collateral accumulation of geological, botanical, ethnographical, meteorological, and astronomical facts. The general conclusion to which this line of argument led was that no honest student of geography could afford to draw a hard and fast line between his own especial study and these other great branches of human knowledge. Especially, it was maintained, he would find the knowledge of geology a necessity, for only with the help of the geologist could he study the geography of the past sufficiently to acquire an understanding of those gradual processes of evolution which have led through countless ages of old worlds to the development of the present one, or watch, with scientific intelligence, the progress of alteration in structure and configuration which is daily going on around us. As regards the converse of the proposition, scientific opinion was singularly unanimous. At any rate, no student of other physical and natural sciences should neglect to acquire at least an elementary acquaintance with the great geographical principles which underlie the

order and course of nature, governing conditions of climate and food supply, and thus shaping human industries and aims to fit the necessities of an ever-varying state of existence. It is, indeed, because scientific opinion maintains so strongly that geographical knowledge should be not only an acquirement for scientists, but an every-day practical power (like all other knowledge) in the hands of well-educated men, that a move has at last been made towards the introduction of its correct teaching into our schools, by recognizing it in the first instance as a necessary part of the education of teachers. For the first time, I believe, in history, a geographical professorship has been founded at Cambridge. Its purpose is to impart a thoroughly scientific training to a few educational workmen to begin with, who will gradually spread abroad a better system of instruction in our most prominent schools, as well as to educate our rising statesmen and soldiers to a better comprehension than exists at present, of the important bearing of geographical knowledge on many political and military questions of national importance.

On so large a subject as the general application of the principles which were so ably discussed at the meeting of the British Association, it is by no means my object to dilate. All that I propose to do is to offer a few suggestions from a purely professional point of view on the nature of that geographical education which may serve best to strengthen the hands of some who must perforce have the deepest practical interest in the bearings of geographical science—viz., our soldiers and our statesmen. With the former it will lie in future to make new geography by wresting lands, unmapped at present, from the rule of barbarism ; with the latter rests the supreme duty of directing the efforts of our soldiers, and of constantly correcting the map of the world by revision of its great national barriers. That geographical knowledge is political power is an aphorism which probably no one will care to discuss, but that it is a power which has often been sadly wanting at the

critical moment in the hands of our statesmen is an unfortunate truth, for proof of which we need only turn to the pages of history. Thus we learn, from the address of the president in the Geographical Section of the British Association meeting, that "the boundary treaty of 1783 with the United States was incapable of being carried into effect, as the geographical features did not correspond with the assumption of the Commissioners. This led to a dispute lasting thirty years, resulting in the boundary treaty of 1843. The ignorance of the geography of the country in this case led to very inconvenient and even disastrous results. Again with the San Juan controversy. Historical and geographical knowledge, and ordinary care for the future development of Canada, might have led to such measures being taken in the first instance as would have prevented the cession of valuable positions to the United States in 1846." This, perhaps, is somewhat ancient history, but modern instances are not wanting, and can be readily found by those who look for them.

In our military councils it might seem at first sight hardly necessary to claim further room for the consideration of geography than that which it occupies at present. No campaign, nor any of our periodical expeditions into unknown and unmapped countries, is undertaken without as full a consideration of the physical conditions of climate and topography, and of all those thousand details which, weighed one with another, eventually furnish the key to a plan of action, as may be gained by the light of such geographical information as exists.

It cannot be truly said that there is any want of appreciation of the advantages of geographical knowledge amongst our soldiers in these days. From the commander-in-chief to the last-joined subaltern, all are more or less concerned in studying the principles of applying such knowledge to military purposes. In our military schools and colleges increased attention has been given to the subjects of reconnoissance and surveying, and education in this

branch is both practical and as thorough as it can be made within the limits of time that are available for its acquisition. And yet the results, when put to the test of practical experience, are far from being perfectly satisfactory. Otherwise how is it that, at the close of military operations of such an extensive and elaborate nature as those involved in the Egyptian campaign and the subsequent expeditions to the Sudán, questions can be raised involving such enormously large interests as those which were suggested to the public at the meeting of the British Association? In the president's address, to which I have before alluded, it is stated that—"It is possible that a more full geographical knowledge of Egypt and the Suez Canal might have materially modified our present occupation of Egypt. The canal could not be held without a fresh water supply, and the possession of Cairo and the Nile is the key to the fresh-water canal supplying Ismailia and Suez. Had it been known that a plentiful supply of water could be obtained close to the marine canal, independent of the Nile water, it is questionable how far any occupation of Egypt would have been necessary." And in the course of the meeting a most interesting paper was read, describing the nature of the route from Suakin to Berber, and apparently placing on record the fact that a mistake, which may well have cost the country millions, was made when the Nile route was adopted as the surest way of reaching Khartum.

On the one hand, we have a doubt thrown on the advantage of a complicated and expensive military manœuvre, and on the other, an apparently well-founded surmise that the adoption of the Nile route was a costly mistake. The Sudán expedition is now a matter of history, and very possibly some of our present wisdom has been gained by the light of experience; but the further discussion of this question (which is of more than passing interest, inasmuch as it bears directly on our commercial relations with the Sudán) is out of place here, so long as we may assume that the information available, in the first instance, about the country



between Suakin and Berber was not considered sufficiently satisfactory to warrant the adoption of that route. Accurate and complete information in a case like this implies a great deal of labour in the field and much attentive study. It could hardly be gained by a single line of reconnoissance, however complete in itself, nor by the examination of sources of water supply which did not deal with those possibilities of development and increase which almost always exist in undeveloped countries. Such information is not readily obtainable, and its application to practical purposes may be almost impossible if there is a single uncertain link in the whole chain of evidence. But what seems to be always possible, is the establishment of an organized system of collecting evidence, even to the minutest detail, by gradual and progressive action under skilled direction, improving our statistics and filling up gaps in our maps as time moves on, working when the horizon is clear, and opportunity permits. We have no system of this sort which can be said to be universally applied to the acquirement of geographical information at present, and I believe the reason to be that neither the theory of it nor its practicability are fully understood. Thus we come to the question whether any system of instruction, not too complicated nor too lengthy, can be devised which will teach us how to utilize all the various methods, which can be shown to exist, of acquainting ourselves with the physical conditions as well as the topography of unmapped regions which may possibly become the theatre of war. England is peculiarly liable to have to deal with such countries, and the location of them on the world's surface is generally fairly well known long before the danger of actual hostilities occurs. This is not at all a question of vaguely exploring the unknown world. Whether we look to our Indian frontier and the countries bordering it, to Egypt, the Sudán, or South Africa, opportunities have been ample, and have existed for years, of obtaining quite as much accurate geographical information as should enable our military com-

manders to choose with certainty the best lines on which to move, or to adopt a provisional plan for a campaign. To every rule there are, doubtless, exceptions ; but generally there has been both ample time and abundant opportunity for learning all that is really necessary. This, then, seems to define something of the nature of the instruction required—learning to recognize the opportunity, and a knowledge of the means to take advantage of it.

In this special branch of geographical education we cannot expect the universities to help us. Our officers are not, as a rule, educated at the universities, and if they are to learn the art of acquiring geographical information, as apart from learning geography, they must still look to our military schools and colleges for their teaching. The distinction between acquiring the art of finding the way to fresh knowledge, and the mere habit of tabulating in the memory a certain number of physical and geographical facts, is an important one. The latter has been hitherto the recognized end and aim of geographical study in our public and private schools, and it is the foundation of the subsequent educational superstructure. Nor, in spite of the defects which have recently been pointed out in this system of teaching, do I think the foundation is at all to be despised. Most minds can be trained to the habit of observation and of retention, without great effort, of facts which occur in a certain order or sequence, and the earlier the training is applied, the better the chance of success. A geographical memory, like a “whist” memory, may be an artificial product, and never quite so effective as an inborn and natural memory ; but it is a most desirable acquisition, and no doubt many boys acquire it by looking at maps and tabulating in their minds the facts which they illustrate in a certain order of their own. The first step towards the art of acquiring new information is instruction in map-making, and this begins, after leaving school, under our military teachers. With all the varied and important subjects of purely military education, which our officers are now

expected to study, it is impossible that even this can be complete. It begins, and generally ends, with the acquirement of a certain facility in the topographical illustration of ground suitable to local or tactical requirements, but hardly extending to the purposes of geographical mapping such as is required to determine the broader principles of strategy. Great improvements have lately been introduced into this technical instruction. English officers may fairly claim to hold their own against those of any nation in the world in their capacity for making a cleverly illustrated reconnoissance or a tactical map. But they do not, and at present they cannot, learn at our military institutions how to fit those maps to the requirements of systematic geographical surveying, which is the demand of the present age, and which can only be carried out by experienced specialists.

What is it, then, that can be added to our military teaching, or what change can possibly be introduced into our present methods, which can lead to a more comprehensive practice of the art of acquiring information so as to strengthen the councils of our military leaders when the time for action arrives?

If I venture to offer a few suggestions in reply, it is with the full consciousness of the difficulties which may beset any addition, or any change. Every instructor in the many branches of military science would gladly claim more time and attention for his particular branch of study than he now gets. I can only point to the enormous interests at stake, and crave the attention of our educational authorities to a few points for consideration, which, haply, may be found worth it.

In the first place, I think that our military teaching is almost too entirely practical. All officers are now taught the art of topography on the same system, and with the same object of being able to produce a readable military map. Of those that are instructed only a few will ever become specialists, or ever apply their knowledge to practical effect in the

field. The majority will turn their attention to the many rival lines of military study which suit their idiosyncrasies better, or promise a shorter road to promotion ; and out of this majority it must be remembered that some will rise to those positions of high command which give the power of advising Government on questions which may turn on an appreciation of accurate geographical knowledge. Men who are clumsy and inexpert draughtsmen, with no taste for exploration, and who speedily forget all the little they ever learned of maps and map-making on staff college principles, may yet find themselves, by force of ability or interest, political arbitrators in great national questions out of which the difficult road can only be opened by a geographical key.

To such men, on whom practical instruction has, to a certain extent at least, been wasted, a general theoretical knowledge of the nature of the information required, and the ways of obtaining it, would be invaluable, for it may lie with them, after all, to use the brains of the specialist to the best effect, and in the right direction. Is it absolutely necessary that all officers should be instructed to the same extent in all branches of military science ?—that they should all, in short, be ground through the same educational mill ? We see that the demand of the age on every hand is for specialists, and when the educational course is complete the demand is partially met by the natural drifting off of officers into many different channels of military practice. Could not this separation be effected a little earlier, and with better effect, by some sort of give-and-take system in the curriculum of military study that would suit all varieties of individual capacity, and at the same time lighten the labours of our instructors ? Thus, while all alike could speedily acquire a theoretical knowledge of what we may call the strategy of geography, comparatively few need be put through the long course of instruction which is necessary to gain even a partial acquaintance with the practice of map-making. The same system could be applied with equal force to other branches of study, so that the general course need not

be lengthened for any individual, unless he possessed unusual aptitude for absorbing all varieties of military knowledge. On some such method as this it appears possible, without any radical change, to introduce a theoretical acquaintance with these larger aims which it is the object of geographical study to teach, and which may enable every officer hereafter to direct the brain-power of others into the right channels, though he may not be able to draw a line on a map himself.

The next question that will certainly be asked is, "What is the theory of obtaining geographical information which you propose to teach?"

And here I must frankly admit a very great difficulty. It would require a whole book to illustrate the theory properly, and that book remains to be written. So greatly has the science of geographical surveying developed lately under the pressure of constant demand, not so much by the adoption of new principles and new instruments, as by the application of old principles and improved instruments to new methods, that it must be admitted as an unfortunate fact that there is no work extant which at all adequately deals with the subject in its present stage of development. We can only hope that some such addition to our educational text-books will be forthcoming soon, and meanwhile it is only possible to begin with a general definition, and suggest a few points of interest connected with it. Commencing with an understanding that there is no part of the habitable globe which cannot be reached and geographically surveyed under favourable conditions, matter for theoretical teaching lies first in the recognition of the opportunity, and of the existence of those favourable conditions; next, in a knowledge of ways and means; and lastly, in the proper application of those means to the infinite variety of political circumstances and physical conditions which may govern the country about which we want to know.

Now, as regards opportunity. To judge by experience there certainly would seem to be a prevailing opinion that

the best opportunity of securing a practical military map of an unmapped theatre of military operations, is during the actual progress of such operations ; and the result is that we are always finding ourselves geographically wise after the time for application of our wisdom to practical purposes has passed away. It will be conceded by military men that maps and information are not so much wanted in illustration of what has been done, as guides and assistants to what there may be to do.

But many will perhaps maintain that there is often no way of reaching the map information that is required till a force takes the field to protect the surveyors, and that it is often impossible to tell in what direction it may eventually be necessary to direct that force, until the actual moment arrives to take the field. This objection is based on the assumption that trustworthy geographical information, sufficiently complete and accurate to serve military ends, can only be obtained by the employment of British officers or surveyors, who would doubtless need protection in a partially or wholly hostile country. This assumption I maintain to be no longer correct. Years of experience have at last taught us that skill and truthfulness in acquiring geographical information are by no means confined to Europeans. I am quite aware that it is regarded as a sort of axiom, even by some of our best authorities, that natives are not to be trusted for independent work, and instances of their bringing back false map information, when they have imagined themselves beyond reach of detection, may possibly be quoted. I can only reply, that in all my experience I have never detected deliberate "fudging" on the part of natives, neither do I admit that there is any excuse with present methods of applying checks, for such "fudging" passing undetected. But I feel justified in maintaining more than this. I believe that for patient, persistent, unwearied devotion to his work, as well as for close accuracy in detail, the native, *as a rule*, excels the European ; neither can there be the least doubt about his

general capacity to cover more ground, and to do more under trying conditions of climate than the average European can possibly be expected to do. It appears to me that the degree of his trustworthiness depends chiefly on the nature and degree of his training. For it must be admitted that truth-telling as a moral principle is a very rare exception in the native character, and yet the native mind is peculiarly susceptible of being trained to a full appreciation of the value of scientific exactness. Natives are acknowledged to be excellent mathematicians by nature, and in all departments of State we find this mental characteristic of theirs applied to practical purposes in minute details of record-keeping and accounts. Strangely enough it is only in the direction of collecting statistical information for political and military purposes, that natives are employed who are often, unhappily, guiltless of that appreciation of accuracy which is to be derived from training. Not only are we largely dependent on untrained natives for our knowledge of what passes beyond our own borders, but in many cases their pay and possible promotion depends on the amount of information they bring. The result is only what might be expected—a well-founded suspicion that many reports require so much salting as to render them altogether indigestible. But as to the great value of the well-trained native as an exploring and mapping agent, there should be no further question. Experience has taught us nothing if it has not taught us this.

Once admit that it is not necessary always to employ the British officer as our means of acquiring maps and information, and the question of opportunity should disappear. Opportunity should be always, and every day, and our system of acquiring statistical and map knowledge should be that of an untiring, unresting machine, moving under the influence of well-trained brain-power with smooth regularity, sweeping up scattered leaves of information from all the wide area of the world in which England is inte-

rested, and never required to work with jerky and spasmodic haste under undue pressure, against time.

It may be argued that while this is all very well for India, where a native staff can be raised, or for the countries bordering India, there would be great difficulty in training explorers who would be available for general service. But I think that if we look a little over the map of the world to see where geographical information is of the highest importance as affecting English interests, we shall find it so much centred in the East, that for the present at any rate we may content ourselves with India for our training-school. We can, in India, find natives (not necessarily natives of Hindustan) who could make their way into any part of non-Russian Asia, and who would be just as available and as useful for general service as our native soldiers have proved themselves to be. It is the extension of the, as yet, undeveloped Indian system, and of the Indian native staff, that is advocated, not the formation of a new corps of geographers and explorers elsewhere. And with this extension there should be a more widely spread understanding of the real relations between the Indian and English intelligence systems. There is much information which can be best obtained from India as a base, through Indian agency, but for many excellent reasons it can best be sifted and checked in England. There will always be chaff with the wheat, and the sieve must necessarily be in the hands of those nearest to the ever-shifting scenes of European politics.

But when the value of native work and the facility, economy, and readiness with which it may be utilized is fully understood, there remains yet much of the theory of geographical map-making to be learned. The final end of all surveying and exploring is a useful map; but before any map can be made that can be accepted as of real geographical value (however great its local or tactical value), it must be based on, and checked by, a comparatively rigidly accurate system of measurement, which



involves the use of instruments of far higher capacity than those which serve topographical purposes only. And this more scientific part of the general system must always be in the hands of specialists, although a theoretic acquaintance with the general principles is indispensable to all. Without entering too far into technical details, I may broadly indicate a few necessary subjects for study.

The nature and relative value of different classes of astronomical observations, for example, especially their value in connection with triangulation, methods of triangulation, traverse systems when triangulation fails, and all the various means adopted to secure a sound and capable framework of well-fixed positions on which to piece together the scattered topographical map units, which would have no geographical resting-place otherwise; the nature of the final maps and their reproduction, in order to make them of the utmost possible use in the field—all this should be theoretically understood, not only in order to give full effect and value to the work of many officers who have inclination and opportunity for travelling over untrodden fields, but also to furnish our future leaders and administrators with a fair idea of what is requisite in a geographical staff, and how to apply their capabilities rightly. But alas! on this subject so much is there to teach and to learn, which is as yet unwritten, that I feel myself in the position of one advocating the making of bricks without straw. It is with the object chiefly of appealing to those whose experience and knowledge of the subject is supplemented by leisure to give their knowledge to the world, that I have alluded to these technicalities.

On the "application of ways and means," *i.e.*, the use of native explorers, and the employment in the field of a fully organized survey and intelligence system, nothing need be said here. Amongst our great military leaders, there are some who have given this subject their careful consideration, after a fair experience of the value of the geographical knowledge that has been obtained under present methods

of working. It is most gratifying to observe the unqualified approval, expressed by so high an authority as Sir F. Roberts, of the successful results obtained during the •Burmese campaign by the combined efforts of the Intelligence and Survey Departments. It is particularly to the happy combination of the work of these two departments in the field that he alludes, and he attributes its success to the experience gained during the Afghan War. Here, then, is one key to the principle of utilizing skilled surveyors in the field where geographical knowledge has all to be gained, and to be turned to military account. We hope ere long that the Survey Staff will be recognized as a distinctly military item in the plan of similar campaigns, and will be placed on the same footing, as regards service, with their colleagues in the Intelligence Department.

But as regards the extended use of trained explorers, in anticipation of campaigns and field operations, as a systematic and never-resting means of obtaining information at all times, I believe that there is ample room for its adoption on a scale as yet unattempted, and in directions as yet unthought of.

So far as a general diffusion of geographical knowledge, by means of "courses" at the university, on the lines laid down by Mr. Mackinder before the British Association, is concerned, it is clear that it cannot, as a rule, much affect the military element amongst students, and our soldiers must still gain their knowledge through the medium of military schools and the staff college. But our soldiers, after all, are in these days but advisers to Government on many questions which involve at the very outset a comprehensive knowledge of geography. The final directing and shaping of most military episodes in English history has been in the hands of our statesmen, and it is this, the most important class of public functionaries, that the university education is designedly planned to reach. Here, again, we return to the old ground. The mere general knowledge of a large number of physiographical and topo-

graphical facts, and even the retention of the power to read maps correctly, and to use them rightly, is not in itself sufficient to secure an economical administration of military operations, or of foreign policy where geography is intimately concerned, if the art of acquiring special information is lost sight of. Consequently, I cannot think that any university course could be entirely satisfactory in its results if it did not include something of the theory of this art, and add instruction in map-making to instruction in map-reading. It appears to be with our statesmen as with our soldiers, rather a want of the knowledge how to obtain new information than general geographical ignorance, which leads occasionally to the adoption of complicated and expensive plans of action, followed too often by a national reflection how that plan might have been simplified, and expense curtailed, if only a few more geographical facts had been ascertained before starting. It lies, too, with our statesmen and politicians to encourage the spirit of inquiry, and to decide how far efforts to obtain new knowledge may be safely carried. They have to balance the advantages and disadvantages of such attempts, and it may frequently happen (as, for example, on our Indian frontier) that the political reasons against exploration may appear far to outweigh the prospective value of the information likely to be obtained. There have been, and there are still, amongst our great civil leaders, many men of most distinguished scientific attainments, to whom it could not for a moment be supposed that the advantage of accurate geographical knowledge is of no account. Two at least of India's viceroys have been presidents of the Royal Geographical Society. The cause of geography cannot complain of lack of interest in the highest quarters, either civil or military. But in spite of this, we can truly say that it is only within the last few years that we have learned enough about our own Indian frontier to serve our immediate military requirements, and of what lay beyond it we knew but very little indeed before the last Afghan war. If a

detailed statement of what even now we do *not* know, could be published to the world at large, it would doubtless much astonish some of our continental critics, who make all things subservient to military ends. It is, indeed, no want of interest that bars the way to new information, either in India or in England. It is the fear of political complications, the desire to preserve peace on our borders, and to show ourselves true to our national principles of respect for other people's property and prejudices. And yet I think if it once could be made clear that the art of acquiring new information is not necessarily one that interferes with such prejudices, but which can be made to fit and to fall in with them all the world over; that it can be prosecuted with facility and economy, and yet yield results amply good enough for all practical military or political purposes; there would occasionally be a different decision recorded on the rival advantages of finding out that which it may well be worth millions to us to know, even at some slight risk, and of remaining in a state of ignorance which only possesses the present merit of being peaceful and secure.

If there is one political function more than another for which it would appear desirable to obtain full preliminary geographical information, it would certainly seem at first sight to be that of determining a national boundary.

But although this principle has always been fully recognized by most continental nations, it has never (as we learned from the British Association) been recognized by England; and the reason must be sought in the same fixed principle of avoiding the appearance of intermeddling with any foreign State before the time arrives for political action. Under certain conditions, however, this policy is certainly disadvantageous to our interests. *Ceteris paribus*, it must always happen that in settling a boundary, as in settling a campaign, the completest geographical knowledge carries with it the greatest power of successful venture, whether applied to the first negotiations on broad general principles, or to the inevitable discussion of minute topographical

detail afterwards ; and it is no doubt in recognition of this important advantage that other countries have adopted the system of commencing operations of this nature by the free use of a scientific staff of surveyors. Whilst Great Britain has no land boundary of her own to look after, she has probably had more experience in laying down boundaries beyond the limits of her own shores than any country in the modern world of nations. Boundaries of all sorts and conditions have fallen to her statesmen to determine in the past, and probably never in her history was there a vista of more boundaries to be determined in the future than there is at present ; so that her past experience in geographical work of this kind should afford ample subject for study for future guidance. But it must be observed that there have been, and will yet be, many geographical barriers to be demarcated on the world's surface about which there may appear fair room for argument as to the precise value of map information in the preliminary stages of demarcation. In uncivilized and barbarous countries, where an uneducated people, guiltless of the knowledge of books and maps, have yet to be taught that a certain definite line is to mark the limits of their depredations and lawlessness, the map becomes a mere illustration to ourselves of what has been effected when demarcation is complete. It carries with it no public responsibility for the correctness of that demarcation, and is a dead letter to all but our own administrators. What our barbarous friends require is a plain, practical barrier, marked on the face of nature in unmistakable characters which the most ignorant of them cannot fail to recognize. For ourselves we may be well content with a geographical record which can afford to wait till time and opportunity give it its due scientific place. Thus, perhaps, it has come about that under *all* circumstances we are apt to regard a geographical map as an illustration of the end rather than a means and assistance to the commencement of political operations of this class ; whilst, on the other hand, some of our civilized neighbours possibly

err in the opposite direction. It would not, perhaps, be strictly correct to say that we follow any system whatever. If we have one, it is that of carrying out our mapping and • collection of necessary information *pari passu*, with political negotiations in the field. But when the question to be settled lies between ourselves and a civilized and scientific people, there are certain disadvantages about this system which, from an economic point of view, are worth consideration. It will be found that nearly every point that may arise for political discussion has to be decided on topographical evidence, and that evidence must be complete before any decision is possible. In an article in the October number of *The Nineteenth Century*, written by Sir West Ridgeway, as his final review of a similar situation, he remarks that "the only known way of demarcating a frontier is by maps and pillars"—that is to say, by maps first, and a sufficiency of pillars, or other natural and artificial landmarks, to prevent its remaining merely a map or "paper" boundary, afterwards. This is a valuable amendment on some opinions that were expressed by equally high authorities before the commencement of the operations to which he alludes, and it may be accepted as the result of hard experience. Here, then, is the weak point of the system. There can be no escape from the necessity of map-making, and, until the maps are made, the political machine must stand still, and must saddle the country with the cost of its maintenance—unless, indeed, it can be worked by the geographers. It would not be at all safe to assume that a topographical delineation of disputed country, undertaken by one party to the dispute, will serve the political purposes of both. It is conceivable that the aims and interests of two Governments may be at variance, and that every yard of a boundary may present a possible point of dispute. Under such circumstances even maps, unhappily, can be shaped to meet political ends, and it becomes distinctly advisable that accurate information should be distributed on both sides from sources which each can trust. Thus, the

amount of delay, and the risks and the cost of it, become finally regulated by the map-making capacity of the weakest scientific staff. In support of these views, I will once again refer to Sir West Ridgeway's political and popular article in *The Nineteenth Century*. In the very slight sketch which is there given of the progress of demarcation from the day when the political mission, with its "motley, polyglot, undisciplined mob" of followers, left Quetta, till its return to India, we read of much unfortunate delay. After the long winter of 1884-85—so full of stirring incident—was over, there followed a weary summer, passed in the Herat valley—a summer which was, however, all too short for the interest it brought with it to geographers. Then, when topographical evidence was complete enough to enable our administrators in London to define a large section of the boundary, by the protocol of September, 1885, with a precision which left little room for local dispute, and demarcation so far was complete, we find reference to the "idle winter" which was passed in luxurious, if somewhat cold, quarters east of the Murgháb. That Arctic winter was the busiest time of all for the map-makers. When accurate mapping had come to an end, and topography was still vague and uncertain, want of geographical information had led to difficulties in the shape of untenable claims on both sides, to disagreements, and references to Governments, that only ended finally when two other sections of the boundary were settled at St. Petersburg. There was, indeed, yet another long summer, as politically idle as the preceding winter, passed on the Oxus, whilst the Khwaja Salor difficulty was being threshed out, ere this was accomplished. Thus, only a comparatively unimportant part of the boundary, passing through a country so difficult that the surveyors even could hardly reach it, was locally settled, and its settlement necessarily depended chiefly on the evidence of completed topography. This illustration is only one out of many that might be adduced in support of the suggestion that from an economic, if not from a scientific, point of

view, it would be better to secure accurate geographical information first, and to proceed to political details only when that information is complete.

• No system of geographical education would be satisfactory, or, indeed, would attain to its highest practical aim, that did not inculcate, from the very outset, principles of strict accuracy in observation. Accuracy in observing and recording the phenomena of nature is not necessarily to be expected from the possessors of minds disciplined by the ordinary training of military and political schools. Years spent in scientific study even do not always result in habits of careful inference from accurately observed facts. The true observer of nature, like the true poet, is himself a natural rather than an artificial product. Yet habits of accurate recording and care in defining such geographical phenomena as we do see, or such as have been seen by others, may be acquired, and their acquirement may reasonably be expected to be one of the most valuable results of a course of geographical study. The technical terms used by geographers are often vague enough to allow of great latitude of interpretation. Thus, so apparently simple a term as a "range of mountains," will be found, on examination, to convey a variety of impressions to different minds, and to this, no doubt, is partly due those extraordinary divergences of opinion that occasionally appear in descriptions of even a small area of country. No two men will describe a grass field or a strip of desert in the same way. Simple diversity of definition is, however, no excuse for slipshod geography, and it is this which has so often been the bane of political geographers. It is no exaggeration at all to say that inaccurate or insufficient topographical descriptions, and the misspelling or misapplication of names, have cost England millions, and will cost millions more if the value of accuracy in such matters is not rightly taught and learned. It is not so very long ago that one of our leading statesmen, in whose hands might possibly have rested the issues of peace or war on our Indian frontier,



described Afghanistan as a country of mountains, intersected by passes which led ever upward into regions of gradually increasing altitude, till at last they reached the limits of perpetual snow. Whilst describing Afghanistan, he was picturing to himself the Himalaya. Even in the article to which we have already once or twice referred, we find allusion made to three rivers rising in the Hindu Kush, and finally lost in the "Chul"—of which three rivers not one rises in the Hindu Kush, and only two find their way to the "Chul." There would be no harm in such generalities, which are framed, perchance, to meet the crude ideas of the British public on geographical subjects, if they never carried with them any authoritative force, and if they were always confined to merely elementary popular narratives. But, alas ! similar inaccuracies sometimes creep into treaties, protocols, and agreements, at a heavy cost to the country. There seems to be no necessity for them. There is certainly no obvious reason why politicals should ever commit themselves to descriptive geography, and hardly, even, to the bare mention of geographical names. There is not a point on the globe that cannot be more minutely defined by scientific formulæ than by any description that ever was framed, and there are but few points on the globe of which the scientifically correct geographical position cannot be ascertained. It is the diffusion of the knowledge of these things that is wanted ; the proof of them, and the theory of the art of acquiring information, that should be taught at our great educational institutions, if geographical knowledge is to become a more effective political weapon in the hands of our statesmen and administrators. Surely, if "the study of geography" covers so wide a field for investigation as was claimed for it at the meeting of the British Association, space may be found for the art of discovering new facts concerning it.

T. HUNGERFORD HOLDICH.

## AGRICULTURAL BANKS IN INDIA.

OF the many social problems relating to Indian matters which have given rise to endless discussion, and to acrimonious controversy, perhaps few have been more conspicuous or more hotly debated than the question of emancipating the peasant from the thralldom of the usurer, and leaving him to enjoy the fruit of his labour and the product of his toil. The subject also merits attention as affording a striking illustration of the fallacies of the *doctrinaire* school of philanthropic enthusiasts; men who are apt to take logic, and not experience, as the guide of their would-be benevolent experiments, who prefer theoretical soundness to practical utility, making no allowance for possible friction when their schemes come to be put into practice, nor for the thousand and one minutiae of daily life which go to make up existence.

Judged by the standard of pure philanthropy, the proposal to start, in the East, "agricultural banks" charged with the duty of making advances to the landholding and farming classes—the "ryots" in fact—on such moderate terms as will enable them both to repay the loan with comparative ease, and to provide without difficulty for the wants and requirements of the families dependent on them for support, is scarcely open to hostile criticism. The evils and the dangers of usury are so apparent, the misery inflicted by unprincipled professional money-lenders on the tiller of the soil so unquestionable and notorious, that, as a matter of principle, an agricultural bank would, indeed could, have no opponents. In theory the scheme is perfect: it conjures up delightful pictures of a contented peasantry reaping where they have sown, in the place of

a degraded mass of humanity trodden under foot by an extortionate body of money-grabbers, dead to the dictates of conscience, who oppress the lowly, and plunder the fatherless and the widow. Possessing no bowels of compassion, they crush their victims beneath the hoof of tyrannous rapacity. To sweep away this rabble of extortioners, to clear the land of such fiends in human shape, whenever and wherever they may be found, cannot, it would seem at the first glance, but be advantageous to the community at large, and a blessing to humanity in general.

Before proceeding to point out circumstances which may materially darken the colouring of the above imaginary picture, or considering in detail the nature and the *modus operandi* of an agricultural bank, it may be profitable to sketch in outline the village agricultural system as it exists, and has for ages existed, not only in the Deccan, but, with slight modifications, generally throughout the length and breadth of India.

The ryot, then, holds the land subject to the annual payment to the Government of a small sum calculated according to the productive capabilities of the soil, the prices of cereals prevalent in the neighbourhood, the means of communication with market towns, the variableness of climate, the liability to drought or inundation, the facilities for irrigation, &c. He also owns the cattle, other labour being supplied by himself and the members of his family. It is, however, rare for him to be a capitalist, even if that word be taken in its humblest sense of having enough money in hand wherewith to pay one's way. To procure seed, to support his family until the harvest shall have been gathered in, to provide for extra outlay in order to replace cattle, or to pay the heavy marriage expenses which custom—tyrant custom—exacts from the poorest peasant, he must have recourse to a native capitalist known as the Saukar, who "finances" him through the year, making the necessary advances, and recouping himself by the lion's share of the harvest as soon as it is fairly *racolté*.

At times of a bumper crop the Saukar got a large contribution ; if the yield was only middling, he received less ; while if the rain held off, and the grain withered, the ryot asked for time. By this *pro rata* division of crops the Saukar may be said to have become a kind of sleeping partner in the concern. In ancient times, when this primitive sort of *metayer* partnership was general throughout the land, it may well be supposed that, in the emphatic words of Sir John Strachey, which are applicable to the present day, "money-lenders were obviously as necessary to the Indian agriculturist as the seed which he sows, or as the rain which falls from heaven to water his fields."

The position of this important item of village society was that which he had occupied from time immemorial, and which he still occupies in the Native States with slight modifications, caused by the feeling of native rulers that they are in a manner bound to copy, however reluctantly, every "improvement" which the "Sahib log" has introduced into Indian administration.

But in olden times, and even now, in most Native States, the Saukar would not think of crippling his debtor by seizing from the latter his plough and cattle, far less did he expect to sell up the ryot's ancestral holding. Not only was (and is) the feeling of the people (in this respect in consonance with the merciful legislation of the Jews) opposed to any extreme rigour which would strip the ryot of his means of livelihood, but in Native States, as in the early days of British rule, the creditor had but little legal power to enforce his demands.

Unfortunately, all this has been changed by interference with the immemorial customs of the country ; legislation has utterly disorganized the old system. Macaulay's celebrated description of the evils caused by the introduction of English Law Courts into the Presidency Towns is, *mutatis mutandis*, a delineation, not a whit exaggerated, of the result of the introduction among simple, though naturally litigious, races, of all the crude refinements (if the

phrase be permissible) of English procedure. In a moment, and as by some malignant spell, the relations of comparative good feeling which had for centuries existed between creditor and debtor were replaced by hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. The once placable Saukar became no longer a partner, but an absolute master, armed with the power of seizing and selling everything the ryot possessed—his house, land, plough, oxen, bedding, cooking utensils, even the clothing of himself and family; while, should these not suffice to pay his debts and the heavy accumulated interest thereon, he himself was liable to be thrown into a debtor's prison. The cultivator became, in short, the bond-slave of his former partner.

No wonder that in some places, notably in the Deccan, the discontent of the people took the form of organized rebellion to a law which must have appeared to them demonstrably iniquitous.

The suppression of disorder, the first duty of a Government (Home Rule politics had not as yet been invented), was soon followed by a well-meant attempt, on the part of the Bombay authorities, to perform the second, that of redressing grievances. This took the shape of a measure called the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, by which the creditor was not allowed to pursue his debtor to the very brink of ruin. He was no longer to be able to sell the ryot's land in execution of a decree; and was, like Job's persecutor, told, "Upon himself put not forth thine hand." The unhappy and ignorant ryot was at least to be free from personal duress. This was a step in the right direction; but there is still ample opportunity for improving the status of the cultivator of the soil, and it was in these circumstances that the agricultural bank was proposed, as a promising means of solving a problem, the effectual solution of which, by universal admission, is as pressing as it is indubitably important. An examination of this question from every point of view may be not less interesting than profitable.

The beneficial character of the object aimed at by the bank being admitted, its advocates are, in the attempt to give effect to it, confronted, at the very outset, with a grave difficulty; a large proportion of the ryots of India are already, more or less, indebted to the Saukar. And as it is obviously not the desire, or indeed the interest, of the bank to let the ryot increase his liabilities, it is evident that any scheme for putting matters right must include some provision for liquidating the Saukar's claim: just as a second mortgagee not infrequently finds it to his advantage to pay off the first. Now, how is this to be done? Sometimes the Saukar, who may be depended on to know the exact pecuniary position of every ryot in his village, may be willing, knowing his debtor to be a ruined man, to accept a composition of a few annas in the rupee. But at times, perhaps too frequently, he will demand his pound of flesh. And what then? Sir William Wedderburn, late of the Bombay Civil Service, who has taken a prominent part in advocating the establishment of agricultural banks in the Bombay Presidency, borrows from the original sketch of Mr. Hope's Relief Bill the suggestion that a Commission shall be appointed, "in order to ascertain and compromise the old debts" of the cultivator. The necessity of attaining this object has never been questioned: as has been well remarked—and the observation is applicable to all schemes for the relief of debtors, agricultural or other—"the *first* step has always been to provide for the reduction of the claims . . . to reasonable amounts." In the case under discussion it is the possibility of effecting a compromise which is the doubtful point. If the Commission be not empowered by some special enactment, it will be a laughing-stock to all concerned; if it be so empowered, it must have authority to do something more than merely to place its opinion on record. Then, what is this something to be? Should the Saukar not abate a jot of his claim is "pressure" to be brought to bear on him? If so, and the attempt fail, is it to be followed by compulsion? In other words, is this victim of "zabardasti"

to be forced, under the guise of humanity, to accept an anna in full satisfaction of a rupee? Is the usurer to be compelled by law to abandon claims to which by the present law he is entitled? is the law to abrogate the law? *Facilis descensus Averni*—easy the transition from pressure to compulsion, from force to spoliation, the last not the less cruel and oppressive, because the oppressor acts under the guise of philanthropy, and turns his eyes upward, vainly endeavouring to make actions of the earth, earthy, appear as though of the heaven, heavenly.

And, if compulsion be revolting—as it will be—to every honourable advocate of the establishment of the bank, and if, as will happen in many cases, the proceedings of a Commission, deprived of this weapon, be resultless, or should the members of a fairly constituted Commission, even armed with compulsory powers, differ as to the propriety of their employment, who is to pay the costs of the abortive investigation? Is the bank to do so? This would make no small hole in its expected profits, if not in its capital. Or is the expense to be drawn from that inexhaustible milch-cow, the Government? The shareholders would assuredly demur to the one, and the taxpayers to the other, alternative.

Another objection to the proposed bank is that, like a Brummagem bayonet, it fails those who are most in need of it. For we are told by its advocates that they do not contemplate, nor indeed, say they, is it possible, to reach the ryots who are beyond all hope of redemption. “A certain amount of solvency” on their part is, it seems, to be an indispensable condition of success as regards the bank. So that the scheme fails in direct proportion to the need for it. The well-to-do cultivator, who has fields, crops, and implements, to be mortgaged, need not, even at present, be in trouble to get an advance. He can fight his own battles. It is the outcasts in the world of agriculture who really need the helping hand. And what more crushing rejoinder to all arguments in favour of the scheme under consideration can be adduced than the fact that the assistance to be ex-

tended to the peasantry of India must bear an inverse ratio to their necessities? The poorest obtain nought, the comparatively affluent are to have money poured into their laps without stint or measure. Truly, "to him that hath shall be given abundantly," should be the motto of this agricultural bank. If an analogous case be needed, it may be found in the pawnshop in this country, or the Mont de Piété abroad. The classes here which need legislative protection are not the well-to-do artizan or the thrifty clerk, but the lower strata of society, the members of which earn a precarious existence, and have not the means of procuring the materials wherewith to labour when fate throws them a chance hour or two's work : then a visit to the pawnbroker, if a snare, may become a necessity ; but would a bank solve the problem ? As Lord Beaconsfield would have put it, "this is a colossal query."

But, for the sake of argument, let all these initial difficulties be cleared away, let the fullest concessions be made as to the indebtedness of the ryot, and let it be granted that there is a legitimate need for a legitimate advance on legitimate terms. What is to be the *modus operandi* ? And, first, as to the borrower. It may be presumed that a bank could have agencies only in certain large and populous centres of industry ; for, were it otherwise, it is obvious that the expenses of conducting operations over large areas with numerous and costly agencies, would be so considerable as to make it utterly impossible for the Banking Association to lend on terms more favourable than those which are now procurable at the hands of the much-abused Saukar : it would be the old, old story, that "Priest is Presbyter writ large." Would it not too be pertinent to inquire, where would be the advantage of sweeping away one class of persons, whose action and whose mode of doing business are understood by the people, in order to replace them by a similar set, under a different name, and, doubtless, with a far more rigid system of procedure ? It must, then, be conceded, even by the defenders of the



scheme, that agencies are to be comparatively few and far between. Hence it follows that a ryot who requires an advance may have to betake himself some considerable distance to get the funds he needs. Will he do this? Can he do it? Nor must it, in this connection, be overlooked that, not only does the journey involve expenditure, but that it would almost certainly necessitate a stay, for at least one or two nights, in a large town ; and it is open to question how far it may be desirable to expose to the temptations and perils of a city the inexperienced from the village toilers, unacquainted with the busy haunts of men, and ignorant as to the snares of "high civilization." The pitfall of the Saukar would be ill-replaced by the enticements of dissipation, the seductions of gaiety, and the dangers of vice. What a consummation ! And all this under the guise of humanity and philanthropy. *En passant* it is instructive to remark that this very difficulty has been experienced in Egypt, where cultivation is to a great extent confined to the Nile valley, instead of being, as in India, spread all over the land. There the peasant has, before procuring a loan from the Crédit Foncier, to journey to Cairo, where the temptations are great to spend at least a portion of the money advanced for the improvement of his fields ; while, as far as trouble is concerned, he is better off with the local money-lender, whose method of procedure, if more rough and ready, is all the more in consonance with the fellah's primitive notions. This, among other reasons, has been the cause why the Crédit Foncier of Egypt has practically discontinued advances to the smaller class of agriculturists, which at one time (1880-2) represented nearly half its business transactions, numerically speaking.

But the catalogue of difficulties is by no means exhausted. A peasant, especially when living in an out-of-the-way district, oftentimes finds it difficult to get a market for his crop ; and, in such cases, he repairs, as a matter of course, to the Saukar, who buys it of him, or allows it in account current, thus affording to the cultivator the means

which he would not otherwise possess of obtaining a price. But, it may be argued, if one man can realize the produce of a field, so can another. On the contrary, *non cuivis contingit*. It is by no means to be overlooked that the expense of going possibly to a considerable distance in order to meet with a customer would fall more heavily, both absolutely and relatively to the value of the article to be sold, on the small producer than on the Saukar, who, like our own corn-factors in country districts, deals, in one transaction, with the produce not of a solitary farm, but of many estates, and whom it therefore suits, trading, as he does, comparatively *en gros*, to spend more money in order to obtain a purchaser in more populous, if more distant, localities, or in provincial market centres. True it is that the Saukar gives or allows a low price for what he takes, and that, consequently, the ryot is mulcted of a portion of his profits; but, on the other hand, the market is at the door, and the sale is immediate and easy. Now, it may be asked, how would the agricultural bank better matters? Is it intended that here also it should step into the Saukar's shoes? This is presumably not contemplated. They would not cumber each of their agencies with the duty of buying and selling small quantities of produce, of being corn-factors as well as loan-agents. Then, what would be the ryot's position if the Saukar be improved off the face of the earth, and his self-appointed successor refuses to do business in the direction referred to? It is surely manifest that a chance of the ryot's placing his produce at a sacrifice merges into a certainty that at times he may not be able to sell it at all. Surely this is philanthropy with a vengeance, injury under the guise of benefit, ruin draped in the garments of prosperity!

Further, as has already been indicated, ryots in India are wont, from time to time, to repair to the money-lender when a marriage festivity, or a "tamasha" of unusual magnitude and importance, taxes beyond his powers the slender resources of the bread-winner of the family. The fact may

be thought regrettable, but a fact, not to be gainsaid, it is, nor is it likely to be altered. Enthusiasts may preach, and humanitarians, who treat their fellow-creatures as chess-men on a board, may talk; but as "boys will be boys," so men will be men as long as the world lasts. "There's a deal of human natur in man," and certain forms of gaiety and indulgence will find votaries till moons shall wax and wane no more. Here, again, how will the agricultural bank act? Will the association be prepared to step in and be a consenting party to "senseless extravagance," or will they button up their breeches pockets, and content themselves with preaching economy and prudence to a people who do not "love to have it so"?

Turning to the lender, what—and this is a most important consideration in estimating the probable success of the bank in "placing" its loans—will be the attitude of the Saukar while steps are being taken to improve him off the face of the earth? Is it reasonable, is it consistent with what one knows of human nature, to expect that he will sit with hands folded, unmoved, immovable, while his enemies are devising every means in their power to render it difficult—nay, impossible—for him to earn his livelihood? Is it not more rational to suppose—nay, to rest assured—that this much-abused, but very "wide-awake," functionary will throw the whole weight of his influence, which is avowedly enormous, into the scale of opposition to any measure calculated to take the bread out of his mouth by interfering between himself and the ryots? Should he do this, what ill-feeling, what discord will be aroused throughout the country! Surely Beelzebub himself—of course as a humanitarian—could devise no better plan for setting man against man, for fostering trouble, and fomenting ill-feeling.

Supposing, too, which is not wholly impossible, that the vitality of the Saukar should be such as to enable him to survive even the establishment of an agricultural bank, and that he should still remain a factor to be dealt with.

In such a case it is obvious enough that the bank and the usurer would be antagonistic \* elements, always at cross purposes, ever disputing, discussing, quarrelling, litigating ; but never acting in harmony for the benefit of the ryot. And the ryot himself? Would not he, possibly with a vague idea of his own advantage, possibly from the innate love of intrigue so characteristic of the Asiatic mind, plot and scheme to extract the utmost benefit to himself from the quarrels of his betters? Plot would be followed by counterplot ; the bank, to foil the Saukar, would in the end have to resort to tricks and subterfuges like his own, repugnant to honest minds, and utterly opposed to the sickly sentimentalism which, aiming to benefit, would ruin, the peasantry ; and, as the final outcome, the poor ryot would stand a fair chance of being crushed between the spasmodic efforts of the bank to avoid disaster, and the attempts of the Saukar to gain a livelihood.

Can there, in these circumstances, be much hope that the proposed philanthropical experiment will be really advantageous to the ryots? And, inasmuch as its promoters reckon, in the first instance at least, on the pecuniary aid of Government in "showing them the way," clearing a district for them by a "voluntary liquidation" of ryots' debts by means of advances to the latter at  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., which are to be made over to the bank at 4 per cent., it is clear that the philanthropical part of the experiment will be thrown on, and confined to, the Government, and the tangible or commercial part, that is, any possible profits, will remain with the bank.

*Qualis ab incepto!* The bank is a mere nursling from the first. We shall see that it must live on Governmental pap to the last.

Thus far the subject has been considered from the points of view: 1. Is there a reasonable *locus standi* for an

\* This is understood to be the case in Egypt, where the Crédit Foncier has made no attempt to conciliate the usurers, and is exposed to all the hostility of the vested interests.

agricultural bank in India ? 2. What would be the probable effect of its establishment ? There is a third consideration, which may, to its promoters, seem not less important than their benevolent objects, and which is not without interest to those who would gladly see any plan adopted which will really benefit the peasantry of that splendid Dependency of the Crown. It is this : Supposing all preliminary difficulties overcome, the opposition of the Saukar appeased, and the bank established, how are advances to be recovered ? Are you going, here also, to stand in the position of the Saukar, and to recover, in case of non-payment, in the usual way ? Sir W. Wedderburn, in a paper read by him before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, seems to think that "coercive measures will rarely be required, . . . that the ryot will realize the great advantage" of a far lower rate of interest than he has been accustomed to pay, and that "the fear of having his name removed from the books of the bank will probably be sufficient stimulus in those cases in which he is inclined to be careless or unpunctual." But Sir William candidly admitted that coercion of a special character *must* be in the background. What is that coercion to be ? But first, may it not be well once again to turn to the experience of the Egyptian Crédit Foncier, the transactions of which institution are not, however, exclusively or even primarily connected with agriculture, and which has latterly discontinued, as far as possible, all agricultural advances except on a large scale. For smaller loans it has, as is well known, been proposed to establish a separate, but analogous, institution—in fact, an agricultural bank ; and we are told that, judging from the experience of the Crédit Foncier, *certain privileges*, especially in the direction of despatch and economy in the legal processes for recovering its debts, *are necessary* for the *success* of an institution of this nature, though such privileges may be conditional on the exercise of a considerable amount of Government supervision over the working of the institution. Now what is it that,

according to Sir W. Wedderburn, the Government have offered to concede in India; premising that an institution which receives especial coercive privileges from Government ceases to be strictly a private, and becomes, to all intents and purposes, a Government institution?

The Government of India, then, limiting the experiment to some small district in the first instance, and making certain concessions as to stamp duty on bonds, and as to initiatory court fees, proposes, after clearing the field for the bank as already shown, to give it—we quote from a letter of the Government of India, reprinted by Sir W. Wedderburn—"the privilege of recovering its debts from the land *through the revenue officers as arrears of land revenue.*" \*

Now, to this part of the plan there are most serious objections: not only is the bank, by being exempted from certain court fees, to have afforded to it extra inducements to litigation, but it is actually to command the services of the collector as an authoritative dun!

Now, if there be any one thing at which we have aimed more than another during our sojourn in India, it has been to make the people have confidence in us, and in those of our officers especially who come most into contact with them personally. They may not adore the Tehsildar, or passionately love the collector. But they know that revenue has to be paid, and that some one or other must collect it, and all our best revenue officers have recognized it to be as much their duty to make themselves popular in their districts as to replenish the Government treasury therein. Is it possible to imagine a greater blow struck at any influence a revenue officer may possess than that which would be dealt by superadding to his other duties that of a bill-collector? "Il faut reconnaître," we were reading the other day, "que l'agriculture n'a pas encore appris le respect commercial des échéances." "The bucolic mind does not 'twig' punctuality in bill-transactions."

\* The italics are not in the original.

“Immemorial custom and tradition,” we read elsewhere, “impel the ryot to defray his land revenue assessment at certain seasons of the year, but to pay off an advance of money with punctuality and at a certain fixed time is quite opposed to his habit and inclination.”

Moreover, the demand, by a Government officer, of amounts avowedly borrowed from a “private” association would, to the ordinary ryot, appear suspiciously like double-dealing. Either he would think that the collector, or some friend of his, had a personal interest in the affair, or that the “Barra Sahib” was interfering without rhyme or reason, and “regardless of all established custom,” in favour of the concern, because it bore an English title, and doubtless Faringhis were interested in it, or, last and worst of all, he would consider it a deep-laid scheme, on the part of the Government, to enhance its revenue at his expense, by breaking a solemn compact, always hitherto considered inviolable, of “fixity of tenure” on payment of rent. Nothing would make him distinguish the claim from some new form of taxation. “Tell me,” would be his language to the local representative of the powers that be, “didst thou not agree with me for so much?” The answer, “Yea, for so much,” would be as inevitable as it would be true; and nothing would persuade the ryot that he had not been cozened.

“The ordinary ryot,” remarks one who is well able to speak on this subject, “is exceedingly ignorant, and cannot distinguish between his liabilities so far as to know how much he pays as land revenue, and how much as local cess; it is almost certain that the bank’s dues, when collected by Government, will become mixed up in his mind with imperial and local taxation, and after the lapse of a few seasons the whole will be put down to taxation, and the land revenue policy of the Government will suffer in popularity. . . . Since the days of the early settlements it has been the great boast of Bombay revenue officers \* that each cultivator has his one fixed Government demand explained to him once for all, beyond which nothing will be demanded from him by Government, and nothing will be realized. If this

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\* The writer is speaking of the Bombay Presidency, where the proposed experiment is to be tried, though his remarks have a much wider application.

principle of fixity of payment is liable to be altered by the inclusion in the Government demands of fluctuating sums on account of agricultural banks, one great guarantee for the success and popularity of the settlements will be removed."

We should think so, indeed! You pledge to an ignorant ryot the word of the Empress-Queen that, beyond a certain sum, *nothing* will be demanded from him, and then, by some *ex post facto* legislation, of which he knows and understands nothing, ask for much more!

Agricultural banks may be, nay are, a well-meant idea. But is it to be seriously argued that Government should, for a mere experiment, take a step which, besides being the very bathos of "paternal" government, might well be so interpreted among the ignorant multitude as to shake our reputation for good faith from one end of India to the other, and bring about a disaster in comparison with which the present evils are but a drop in the ocean of danger?

A. N. WOLLASTON.



## THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES IN THE HISTORY OF ART.

"What wonder we that men should die? The statelie tombs do weare ;  
The verie stones consume to nought, with titles they bid beare."

RICHARD KNOLLES, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*. \*

ALTHOUGH the Hittites are known to us as a political power only through the contemporary chronicles of the campaigns undertaken against them by the kings of Egypt and Assyria, they occupy an independent position of exceptional importance in connection with the development of the archaic civilization of Asia and Europe ; for they were not merely the originators of the ideograms from which the syllabaries of Cyprus, and Cilicia, and Mysia, and the non-Hellenic letters of the alphabets of Cappadocia, Lycia, and Caria, were derived, but, if we may rely on the evidence of the Syrian, Rouman, and Anatolian sculptures ascribed to them, they were also the actual propagandists, in the course of their conquests and commerce, of the mythology, worship, manners and customs, and characteristic illustrative arts, which, as influenced in their inception by the ubiquitous presence of Egypt, they received directly from Mesopotamia, and in turn transmitted, with gradual and continuous local qualification, eastward into Media and Central Asia, and westward through Lydia and Ionia to the islands and mainland of Greece ; where they were introduced concurrently with the elements of Pharaonic culture directly imported from the delta of the Nile by the Phœnicians.

The Hittites were, in short, the immediate inheritors, long anterior to the subjugation of Babylonia by Assyria, of the civilization of the Chaldæan kingdom of "Father

\* Quoted in "From Pharaoh to Fellah," by C. F. MOBERLEY BELL.

Orchamus," and Sargon [I.], and Hammarubi; and the first to disseminate it abroad from "the river of Egypt" to the Black Sea, and from the Caspian Sea to the river Halys, and onward to the Mediterranean Sea, over all Syria and Asia Minor; it being assumed that the Hittites [*Khittim*] of the Old Testament are one and the same people with the *Kheta* of the Egyptian monuments, and the *Khatti* of the Assyrian inscriptions.

The *Kheta* of the wall paintings of the Ramesseum at Karnak, and on the great temple of Abu-Simbel, are certainly none other than the proto-Armenian defenders Van figured on the bronze gates, now in the British Museum, from the palace of Shalmaneser II., at Balawat, who are the *Khatti* of the cuneiform inscriptions; and both are indistinguishable in their features, costumes, and military equipment from the people autoglyphically portrayed on the sculptures attributed by Professor Sayce and Dr. W. Wright to the Hittites; and as the definition of "the land of the Hittites" in Joshua i. 4 exactly limits the country of the *Kheta* as known to the Egyptians, and the country of the *Khatti* as known to the Assyrians, it is unreasonable any longer to question the absolute identity of the *Kheta*, *Khatti*, and *Khittim* or Hittites.

The prolonged resistance they opposed to the ever-victorious armies of Egypt and Assyria proves the amplitude and solidity of the natural resources of their still shadowy empire, while their sculptures, situated in so many far-separated regions, show how wide was its extent.

They would appear to have been an essentially Turanian people, who perhaps gradually became partially Semiticized, and even in some degree Aryanized. They were originally a Northern people, as their shoes, with the toes turned up, indicate; but it was on the south side of the Caucasus mountains, before Media and Armenia were occupied by their later Aryan inhabitants, that they developed their distinctive nationality, and from Cappadocia enlarged their empire southward, across Mount Taurus, to Egypt,

and westward to the shores of the Propontic and Ægean seas. They are the people whom the Greeks called "Leuco-Syrians" to distinguish them from the darker Semitic populations south of Mount Taurus; and again they are identified by Mr. Gladstone with the Ceteans of the eleventh book of the Odyssey—

"And round him [Eurypylus] bled his bold Cetean train,"—

who although classed with the Leleges and Caucones as forgotten, if not fabulous, races of the Homeric world, were in all probability a tribe of Hittites that had given their name to the river Ceteus [*Bergama-Chai*] in Mysia. We have probably a trace of them also in the name of the town of Citium in Thrace, for in the First Book of Maccabees Macedonia is designated as the land of Chettium [i. 1], and the Macedonians as Citiums [viii. 5]. Citium in Cyprus was undoubtedly a city of the Phœnicians, who from it expanded the denomination of Chittim to the whole island of Cyprus, and to all the islands collectively of the Ægean Sea. Hence it is applied in the Old Testament [Genesis x. 4 and 1 Chronicles i. 7] to the third son of Javan, as the eponym of the Aryan tribes [Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians] which succeeded the Phœnicians in the colonization and commerce of the Grecian Archipelago. But the Phœnicians, who formed a geographical link between the Aryan [Japhetic] Greeks, the descendants of Kittim, the third son of Javan, and the Semiticized Turanian *Khittim* or Hittites, the descendants of Heth, the second son of Canaan, if they were not ethnologically connected, through their Canaanitish predecessors in Phœnicia, the Sidonians, with the Hittites, must at least have appropriated the appellation of Chittim from the latter; and wherever it occurs, and under whatever disguises, we are justified in assuming, in the absence of sufficient arguments to the contrary, that it refers ultimately to the formidable Hittites, who between the twenty-fourth and eighth centuries B.C. established their military

domination over all Asia Minor, from Syria to Lydia and Ionia.

It was in the seventeenth century B.C. that Thothmes I. began "the war of revenge" against the *Kheta*; and it was carried on by successive Pharaohs for nearly five hundred years. Thothmes III. defeated them before Megiddo [Armageddon of New Testament], and at Kadesh on the Orontes, and Carchemish on the Euphrates; and twice stormed the last-named city and reduced it to ashes. The sanguinary struggle was continued by the immediately following Pharaohs, but with such indecisive results that, about one hundred and fifty years after the death of Thothmes III., a treaty was concluded between his successor, Ramses I. and the king of the *Kheta*, which for a time secured peace between Syria and Egypt. When, however, Seti I. came to the throne of Thebes, circa B.C. 1366, finding that the *Kheta* and their allies had recommenced their incursions into the territories of Egypt, he at once attacked them, defeating them at "Kanaan," near the Dead Sea, and again at "Jamnia" in Phœnicia, where he overthrew with great slaughter "the king of the land of Phœnicia," and then marched against Kadesh, expressly as "the avenger of broken treaties," and captured the city by surprise. His son, Ramses II., who adorned the temples at Karnak, Abu-Simbel, Abydos, and Luxor, with the pictorial records of his father's and his own achievements, prosecuted his campaigns against the *Kheta* with such success that at last "the great king of the *Kheta*" was compelled to submit himself, when a peace was settled between them which lasted sixty years; a circumstance probably due to the happy marriage of the Egyptian victor with the beautiful daughter of the vanquished *Kheta* king. More than one hundred years later the *Kheta* are found among the confederated invaders from Anterior Asia and Northern Africa, who were defeated by Ramses III. in the great naval engagement at Migdol, the "Watch-city," at the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile; and

after this their dreaded name disappears from the history of Egypt.

In the inscribed tablets from the library of Assurbanipal [Sardanapalus], copied by that king from the original tablets of the library founded by Sargon [I.] at Agane, the *Khatti* are mentioned as continually assailing the kingdom of Chaldæa during the reign of the latter sovereign. He was able to drive them for a time beyond Mount Amanus, but no sooner did the Elamites begin to ravage Chaldæa than the *Khatti* at once re-established themselves on the Orontes and Euphrates. Again, although the Egyptians frequently forced them to withdraw into Cappadocia, the cradle of their empire, on the decline of the Theban monarchy, after the death of Ramses III., they promptly reasserted their dominion over Syria, and sustained it with the greatest vigour until their final overthrow by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. They were indeed, with short periods of depression, the paramount power in Syria and in Asia Minor, from about the twentieth to the twelfth century B.C.

From the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. [B.C. 1120-1100] found at Kileh Shergat [Asshur], the oldest original Assyrian text that has hitherto been discovered, we learn that immediately on his coming to the throne he began to beat back the *Khatti* from the western borders of his kingdom; and that after a series of expeditions against them, he succeeded at last in temporarily freeing his frontiers from them. Assur-nazir-pal [B.C. 885-860] carried the arms of Assyria as far as the "Lebanon" and "the great sea of the Phœnicians," and exacted tribute from Carchemish and Gaza, "and other towns of the *Khatti*," and from Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Arvad. His son Shalmaneser II. [B.C. 860-825], according to the inscription on "the Black Obelisk," led several punitive campaigns against the *Khatti*, and captured Carchemish. One hundred years later we find them still in deadly conflict with the Assyrians. But at last the empire of the

*Khatti* was brought to an end by Sargon [II.], who in B.C. 717 fell suddenly upon Carchemish with an overwhelming force, and plundered it, and levelled it to the ground; and in subsequent campaigns brought the whole country of the *Khatti*, to the Phœnician coast, and, north of Mount Taurus, to the Halys, under his sway. Henceforth the Hittites were known in Syria only as isolated tribes; while in Asia Minor their very name appears to have at once died out of the memories of the nations that inherited their institutions, and arts and industries, and their indefinite fame.

Their remains consist almost exclusively of inscriptions and sculptures distributed over the whole of north-western Anterior Asia. In Syria inscriptions have been found near Damascus, and at Hamah [Hamath], and at Aleppo. Several inscriptions, now in the British Museum, were found by the late Mr. George Smith at Jerabis or Jerablus [Carchemish], one of them being graven on the back of the mutilated bas-relief figure of a man. The so-called "Monolith of a King," now in the British Museum, was discovered about fifty years ago by the Rev. George Percy Badger, built into the wall of the Turkish Castle at *Birejik*, on the Euphrates. In the mountains dividing the plain of "Hollow Syria" from the uplands of Asia Minor, are the sculptures representing a hunting scene, chiselled with great spirit, on the rocks of the *Bagtche*-pass through the *Ghiaour-Dag* [Mount Amanus], the inscription on the Assyrian lion\* on the Turkish Castle at Marash, at the southern foot of the *Bulghar-Dag* [Mount Taurus]; and the inscription in a curious gorge near Ghurum, at the northern foot of the *Bulghar-Dag*.

We are now among the elevated pasture-lands, and vineyards, and wheat-fields of Asia Minor; and it is here in the Turkish provinces representing the ancient Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Pontus, Galatia, Phrygia, and Lydia, that the

\* It is now, I believe, with the Hamah stones, in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.

Hittite monuments of the greatest interest exist. Just within the limits of the Turkish province of Koniye [Lycaonia] and north of the *Kulek-Boghaz*, or "Ciliciæ Pylæ," at *Ibrecz*, near *Eregli*, the ancient Heraclea, are the remarkable sculptures representing a man, clad in the usual Hittite costume, worshipping the local god of corn and wine. The long robe wrapped round the former is richly brodered and fringed, and diapered all over with the simple but effective geometrical designs still to be seen in the domestic fabrics woven by the hardy peasantry of Koniye, Roum, and Armenia, and throughout Central Asia. The robe is worn very much in the Hindu fashion of Western India, and the whole figure of the man, with his weighty necklace, "tip-tilted Hittite boots," and twisted head-gear, strongly resembles that of some wealthy merchant of Guzerat in the attitude of devotion before an exalted image of Vishnu. There is an inscription at *Bor*, between *Eregli* and *Nidgeh*, and another at *Killesseh-Hissar* [Tyana], close by *Bor*, and at *Iflatum-Bunias*, near to the *Beishehr* lake, in the southern corner of Koniye: and there are traces of Hittite art on two small slabs found at Kaissariye [Cæsareia, more anciently Mazaca], in Central Koniye [Cappadocia], but known to have been originally brought from Amasia, in Roum. At *Boghaz-Keui* [Pteria] in North-western Roum [Galatian Cappadocia], the reputed site of the Hittite capital of Asia Minor, are the dilapidated remains of a building, arranged on the same ground plan as the palaces of Chaldæa and Assyria, but raised on a terrace of Cyclopean masonry, instead of on a mound of burnt-clay bricks; and near it are the ruins of a temple, sculptured within with the figures of the Hittite gods, advancing in procession, from the right hand and the left, until they meet face to face in the centre of the side of the open rock-cut court opposite the entrance. All the gods stand, after the manner of the gods of the Hindus, on their symbolical vehicles [*vahans*]; the right-hand procession being headed by Rhea-Cybele [Nana-Ishtar, Ma], borne on a lion, and wearing her

turreted diadem ; and the left by the beloved Attys [Bel, Baal, Papas, Tammuz, Adonis]. Two smaller figures behind the great goddess are represented standing on the Hittite "double-headed" "spread-eagle." At *Eyuk*, a little to the north of *Boghaz-Keni*, there is another Hittite palace, with Sphinxes, of the standing and affronted Assyrian type, carved on one of the gateways ; and outside this gateway there are reliefs portraying a number of persons worshipping before an altar, and also a snake charmer playing on a guitar [*vina* of Hindus] to the serpent coiled round his body, while another man stands beside him holding a long-tailed monkey by the hand ; a group exceeding Indian in its composition and physiognomy. Several other animals are also represented, the fanciful double-headed eagle again being prominent among them. It reappears also among the golden ornaments found by Schliemann at Mycenæ ; and then is lost sight of in Asia Minor for nearly two thousand years, when it was revived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. on the coins of the Seljuk Turks ; and was introduced by the Counts of Flanders into Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Professor Sayce believes it to have been originally a form of the conventional winged thunderbolt of Bel Merodach. Its plastic prototype was the "spread eagle" borne as a military standard and symbol of victory, by the conquering hero of the reliefs on the funeral stele of white stone found by M. de Sarzec at *Tel-Ho* in Chaldæa.

At *Ghiaour-Kalcssi*, near the villages of *Kara-Omerlu* and *Hoiadja*, nine hours south-west of Angora, the ancient Ancyra, in Eastern Anatolia [Galatian Phrygia], are two colossal figures of Hittite warriors, hewn in the face of the mountain rock, supporting the walls of a Cyclopean fortress, erected by the Hittites on this site for the transparent purpose of commanding the ancient high road between Pteria and Sardis. They are the counterpart of the two colossal figures of warriors, cut on the rocks overhanging the ancient road between Phocœa and Smyrna,



and Ephesus, where, after doubling the eastern shoulder of Mount Sipylus, it is joined near the village of *Karabel* by the road from Sardis. These latter figures have been supposed, from the time of Herodotus, to represent the renowned legendary Sesostris [Seti I. and his son Ramses II.], but Professor Sayce has been able to demonstrate, from the inscription still legible on one of the figures, that they are the work of the Hittites. The famous seated figure, carved in full relief out of the living rock, on the northern slope of Mount Sipylus, four or five miles from the ancient Magnesia, and alluded to by Homer [*Iliad* xxiv. 602-20], and Sophocles [*Antigone* 816-22], and described by Pausanias [*Attica* xxi. 5] as "the weeping Niobe," has also been shown by Sayce to be a Hittite statue of Rhea-Cybele, to the worship of whom, as "Mater Sipyliua," the city of Smyrna was devoted.

A duplicate of this profoundly interesting statue has been recently discovered by Mr. Ramsay at *Sidi-Gazi* [Nacolea], between *Kutaya* [Cotyæum], and *Bala-Hisar* [Pessinus], in the very heart of Anatolia [Phrygia], and here in the immediate vicinity of Pessinus, and among the defiles of Mount Dindymum it may be identified with Rhea-Cybele as Dindymene and "Mater Pessinuntia."

In the neighbourhood of the latter statue, close to the modern village of *Ayazeen*, Mr. Murray found a rock-cut tomb, flanked at its entrance by two rampant lions, affronted before a phallic pillar \* rising up between them from the top of the doorway on which their forepaws rest. The sepulchre proved to be the earlier of eight, decorated with the same symbolical subject, and all belonging to an age subsequent to that of the acknowledged Hittite sculptures, but anterior to that of the similar lion group, "the device of the Pelopidæ," above the gate of the Acropolis of Mycenæ, now proved by Mr. Ramsay's discovery to have been introduced into

\* I believe that these pillars must have supported a solar disc like the Buddhist "wheel."

Greece from Phrygia. Close to *Sidi-Gazi* and *Doganlu*, at the village of *Yazil-Kia*, i.e., "the Writing on the Rock," is the so-called "Tomb of Midas," the type of several similar caverned sepulchres, with façades carved all over with simple geometrical patterns identical with those used in the ornamentation of modern Turkoman carpets, and obviously intended to represent curtains, similar to those hung before their tents at the present day by the Turanian nomads of Asia Minor, Persia, and Central Asia. These tombs are thought to be the latest examples of Phrygian art, as those at *Ayaseen* are supposed to be the earliest.

The Hittites were apparently still at the height of their power when, in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., Asia Minor was overrun by recurrent hordes of Thracian Aryas [Pelasgian Bryges], and this protracted assault on the centre of their empire no doubt served to render their destruction final on the capture of Carchemish by Sargon [II.]. But this renewed Aryan invasion of Asia Minor would seem to have given a great impetus to the development of the Phrygian, or, as it might be styled, Aryanized Hittite kingdom that was now established on the Sangarius, and continued, in succession to the Hittite kingdom on the Halys, to dominate all the countries between the Euxine and the Mediterranean seas, until it succumbed to the attacks of the mixed Aryan and Turanian barbarians, known in history as the Cimmerians, by whom Asia Minor was invaded in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., when Phrygia, on the death of its last king Midas, became absorbed in the Mæonian kingdom of Lydia; which in its turn ruled over Asia Minor, until Cræsus, the son of Alyattes, and the last of the great dynasts of the Mermnadæ, was subjugated by Cyrus, B.C. 554. It is to the comparatively late period of the Mermnadæ [B.C. 724-554] that "the Tomb of Midas," and the other Phrygian tombs at *Doganlu* probably belong. But if the sculptures at *Boghaz-Keni*, *Eynk*, *Ghiaour-Kalessi*, *Karabel*, and *Sidi-Gazi*, are the latest that can be classed as their actual handiwork, the indirect influence of the Hittites

as the first civilizers of Asia Minor is still to be traced in the so-called "Grave of Tantalus" on Mount Sipylus, and the so-called "Monument of Alyattes" at Sardis, the former one of twelve, and the latter of a hundred graves of similar character, all probably belonging to the age of Cræsus, and copied apparently from the heroic tumuli of the Troad, known as the "Tomb of Achilles," the "Tomb of Priam," &c., which are identical in form and structure with the numerous Hittite burial mounds of the plain of "Hollow Syria," between the Orontes and the Euphrates.

Beside the monuments above enumerated, several other minor objects of Hittite art have been discovered, such as a stone bowl, with a Hittite inscription round its outer surface, found at Babylon; the circular seal of black hematite, now in the British Museum, found at *Yuzgat*, near *Boghaz-Keni*; the cubical seal of hematite, belonging to Mr. Greville Chester, found near Tarsus; the eight seals found by Layard in the "Record Room" of the palace of Sennacherib at *Koyunjik* [Nineveh]; the eighteen seals belonging to Mr. Schulemberg, "found in Asia Minor;" and lastly, the silver boss, which was offered in sale about twenty-five years ago to the British Museum and elsewhere, and refused in the belief that it was a forgery, and then disappeared. Fortunately, an electrotype of it was taken at the British Museum, and a cast by Mr. F. Lenormant; and these have enabled Professor Sayce to determine that the inscription on the boss was what is called bilingual, or written in two characters, cuneiform and Hittite, and read: "Tarik-timme [compare with Tarkondemos of Plutarch], King of the country of Erme [compare with Urume of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Peleser I.]." It is the only Hittite bilingual inscription yet brought to light, and unhappily it is too short to be of any great practical use of itself, and the longer Hittite inscriptions consequently still remain undeciphered.

But, notwithstanding that we have not yet succeeded in expounding the dark secrets of the Hittite inscrip-

tions, they, and the sculptures illustrating so many of them, reveal to us a uniform system of ideographic writing, and a self-consistent style of art, founded indeed on that of Chaldæa, and not uninfluenced by that of Egypt, but stamped with its own strongly-impressed ethnical and local characteristics, and visibly pointing to a homogeneous and universal, if invisible, empire in Hollow Syria and Asia Minor which can be none other than that of the *Kheta*, *Khatti*, or Hittites. Their inscrutable inscriptions and their unambiguous and peculiar sculptures, exhibiting such strange religious symbols as "the mural crown," and "the double-headed eagle," everywhere in association with the same decorative patterns,—the chevron, meander, square, cross [*swastika*], and anthemion [lotus],—and the same fashion of dress and military armament, represented by "the tip-tilted boot," "the high-peaked turban," the short, high-girded sword, the long spear, and round shield, and bow and arrow ; all these tangible, singular, and significant vestiges of an extinct, indigenous civilization, at once indeed testify to the reality of "the Empire of the Hittites," and to the all-important part played by it in the development of the primitive, and, as regards Europe, the pre-historic culture of the Old World.

Until the eighth century B.C. the Hittites were the most powerful people in Syria and Asia Minor, and the main intermediaries through whom the arts of Chaldæa and Babylonia were transmitted to the shores of the Euxine, Propontic, and Ægean seas ; and after the annihilation of the Hittite nationality by Sargon [II.], although the modified Babylonian arts of Assyria were chiefly exported from Mesopotamia by sea, and in the course of the coasting trade between Phœnicia and Hellas, served to exert a specific influence on the proto-Ionic art of Lycia, Caria, Lydia, and Mysia, they continued also to find their way westward by the immemorial overland routes through Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Lydia ; so that it is almost impossible to set bounds, either in geographical area, or in historic time, to the influence of the Hittites on the arts of the Old World.

The art of Greece, in its earlier prehistoric examples, antecedent to the twelfth century B.C., was exclusively derived from Chaldæa and Babylonia, through the Hittites ; and in its later prehistoric period, between the twelfth and eighth centuries, although Greece was at this time in communication, through the Phœnicians, with both Egypt and Mesopotamia, it continued to be predominantly influenced, through the intervention of the Hittites, by that of Mesopotamia, then centered in Assyria. Even after the disappearance of the Hittites, the authority of Assyria was exercised over Greek art all through its archaic period, from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C., not so much in the course of the commercial navigation of the seafaring Phœnicians, as along the Hittite military road from Carchemish to Sardis, and Smyrna, Ephesus, and Miletus ; for it was by this overland route across Asia Minor that the proto-Ionic column, and all the arts correlated with the Ionic order were carried from Assyria into Greece. When, moreover, the Ionian States were, for a while, during the rise of the Lydian Kingdom under the Mermnadæ, cut off from direct communication with the interior of Asia Minor, the immemorial intercourse between Greece and Mesopotamia was, notwithstanding this temporary obstruction, maintained by way of Sinope, and the other Milesian colonies, founded in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. on the Asiatic shores of the Euxine sea.

During the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., Hellenic art completely emancipated itself from foreign exemplars, and then, in the suite of "striding Alexander" and his successors, and of the "full-fortuned Cæsars," it began to react on Asia Minor, and Egypt, and Syria, and Mesopotamia ; the Hellenization of these effete Semitic and Semiticized nations going on uninterruptedly to the commencement of the attacks of the Goths, and Vandals, and Huns, and, after them, of the Arabs, and Turks, and Mongols, on the western and eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. This reflux revivification of Asia by

Europe was naturally first and most felicitously felt in the primeval Hittite lands opposite Hellas, the coasts of which had been colonized from the eleventh century B.C. by the Æolian and the Ionian Greeks ; and it was in Ionia, where, as also in Lycia, there had been something like an independent growth of Hellenic art, parallel with its development in Crete, Argos, Sicyon, Ægina, and Athens, that some of its noblest fruits were matured, on, as it were, its true native soil, and from roots originally transplanted from Mesopotamia by the Hittites.

We have thus preserved to us in Asia Minor illustrations of the art of Greece at every stage of its evolution ; from the rough-hewn bas-reliefs of alien workmanship that, when as yet it was not, were the earliest models of its lowly imitative beginnings, to the masterpieces of free and spontaneous expression in architecture and statuary, which bear still living witness to its unapproachable perfection in the age of Pericles ; and also the debased and grandiose monument of its gradual decline and degradation during its servitude to Imperial Rome.

First, there are the vestiges, extending over the sixteen centuries, of the primitive Chaldæan art of the Hittites, which were the immediate inspiration of the pre-historic or pre-Homeric art of Greece, as exemplified by the tombs of Spata and Menedi in Attica, of Orchomenos in Bœotia, and of Nauplia and Mycenæ in Argolis ; by the Cyclopean masonry of "walled Tiryns" and of Mycenæ ; and, above all, by "the Lion Gate of Mycenæ." To the later centuries of this prolonged period belong the remains found at *Ayaseen* of the dubious art of the Phrygians. During these later centuries also, the artistic manufactures of Egypt and Assyria began to be imported by the Phœnicians into the southern and western coasts of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands of the Grecian Archipelago ; and the kermes red, saffron yellow, and indigo blue garments, and rich embroideries, the jewellery, and bronze vessels, and arms and armour, and furniture,

"Made all of Hebon and white Yvorie,"

received overland across Asia Minor, and by sea from Sidon, being imitated with ever-increasing skill by the Greeks of Dorian Crete, Rhodes, Thera, and Melos, and of "suddenly uprising Delos," the centre of the Ionian Cyclades, and the most sacred seat of the Pan-Hellenic worship of Apollo, there gradually rose among them the mixed Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and indigenous insular art, intermediate in character between the pre-historic and the archaic art of Greece, and distinguished as Pelasgian. This phase of Greek art is illustrated by the mass of the "Sidonia wares" found by Schliemann at Mycenæ and Troy, and by the so-called "Island Stones," or ovoid, cubical, and prismatic seals of steatite, sard, agate, jasper, and chalcedony, engraved with an unpremeditated originality and spontaneous sense of beauty that are the sure foretokens of the supreme excellency in the higher representative arts subsequently attained by the Greeks.

Next in order are the remains in Asia Minor of the archaic period of Greek art, arbitrarily reckoned from B.C. 776, the date of the first Olympiad, to B.C. 486-79, the date of the close of the Persian wars with the decisive Greek victories of Salamis and Plataea. During these 300 years, the artistic influence of Assyria was still predominant in Asia Minor and in insular and continental Greece, and gradually led to the development of the proto-Ionic building style, most of the examples of which, in Asia Minor, its native country, disappeared during the destructive progress of the campaigns of Cyrus, and of Darius and Xerxes [B.C. 546-480-79]; excepting in the mountainous and comparatively secluded district of Lycia, where some of the monumental tombs erected before these campaigns, survived them unharmed, or were at least restored without any change in their construction and ornamentation; and have thus preserved to the present time the true type of the crudely compiled Assyro-Aryan art of the period. The so-called "Harpy Tomb," at Xanthus, is one of the earliest of these Lycian monuments; but the later

rock art sepulchres at Telmissus, Antiphellus, and Myra, and the similar structures at Cadyanda, Pinara, and Limyra, none of them probably dating before the third and fourth centuries B.C., as faithfully reflect the architecture of the wooden houses, in which the Aryan Lycians dwelt in the first century of the archaic or proto-Ionic period of Greek art. The so-called "Tomb of the Rock" at Myra may be particularly instanced, on account of the marked Assyrian character of its decorative details. The same foreign features are to be clearly traced in the more advanced Ionic art of the so-called "Monument of the Nereids" at Xanthus, and the Heroon at *Djöl bashi*.

It was during this transitionary period of Greek art that the vast Ionic temples, the ruins of the restorations of which after the close of the Persian wars are still to be seen at Branchidæ, Samos, and Ephesus, were first built of marble in the place of the timber temples that had previously occupied the same sites. It was then also that "glorious" statues [*ἀγάλματα*] of marble were substituted for the "scraped" wooden images [*ξόανα*] of the gods; and these noble transformations were all initiated by the Ionians, who, at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., were the leading people among the Greeks, in all the arts that minister to the dignity and refinement of civilized life.

The artistic influence of Assyria during this period moreover extended far beyond Asia Minor and Greece. It had become predominant in Egypt from the tenth century B.C.; and about the same date it must have begun to prevail in Italy; for when Rome was founded in the eighth century, Etruria, or archaic Rome, already possessed its own peculiar national arts, the sources of which must be sought not only in Egypt and Greece, but directly in Assyria. The Etruscans were not actually, or not altogether Phœnicians, like their intimate allies the Carthaginians, but they received the arts of the East through the Phœnicians, and transmitted them, as modified in passing



through their own hands, to the Romans. The Æolian Greeks of Cyme in Asia Minor who, with the Ionian Greeks of Chalcis in Eubœa, founded Cumæ, the oldest of the Hellenic colonies in Italy, in the eleventh century, B.C., and the Ionian Greeks from Abydos and Naxos, and Dorian Greeks of Corinth, Megara, Crete, and Rhodes, who settled in Sicily in the eighth century B.C., also carried with them the same Eastern arts as they practised in Greece, where they had been originally introduced through the Hittites and the Phœnicians, and again adapted them to the local conditions and necessities, and the newly developed manners and customs of their colonial life in "Magna Græcia." The Romans, in their turn, in rising to importance in Italy, borrowed the circular Assyrian arch from the Etruscans, the same arch as has been found among the ruins of the Phœnician substratum of the temple of Solomon [*circa* B.C. 1015-980] at Jerusalem, and the Egyptian stone lintel from the Campanian Greeks, as also the general plan, construction, and ornamentation of their temples, and domestic dwellings; and the mixed Etruscan and Italiote elements thus combined in the national architecture, run through all the minor arts of republican Rome; and when Greece became a province of the empire [B.C. 146], and Greek architects and sculptors and painters, who had long ceased to depend on Asiatic incentives for their inspiration, were reduced to the humiliation of having to labour for the gratification of the ostentatious tastes of their proud conquerors, the extended application they gave to the round Assyrian arch of Etruria determined the type of the enslaved Greek art of Imperial Rome, as exemplified by the vast basilicas [town halls, literally, *στοὰ βασιλῆως*], and baths and amphitheatres erected under the Cæsars in every capital city of their world-wide dominions, and by the august Pantheon of Agrippa, and other similarly constructed temples, the lofty domes of which became the distinctive feature of the churches of Christianized Italy.

The period of the greatest splendour of the arts of Greece, from B.C. 480, the date of the deliverance of the country from the Persians, to B.C. 146, the date of its subjugation by the Romans, signalized by the successive supremacies of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes [B.C. 480-338], the astonishing conquests of Alexander and the Diadochi [B.C. 338-280], and the brilliant reign of the Attalidæ at Pergamum [B.C. 280-133], is marked in Asia Minor by the restored temple of Artemis at Ephesus and of Here at Samos, the largest and most magnificent of Greek temples; by the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ; of Arteinis Leucophryne at Magnesia, the most harmonious and beautiful in its proportions of all Ionic temples; and by the temples of Dionysos at Téos; and of Athene Polias at Athene and at Pergamum; and by the majestic Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

Finally of the Roman period of Greek art, beginning B.C. 146, with the capture of Corinth by Mummius, and ending in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D., when classical art was inseparably involved in the overwhelming and conclusive destruction of classical paganism, science, and philosophy, wrought by the invasions of the barbarians, and the persecutions of Constantine the Great, Theodosius the Great, and Justinian I.;—of this protracted period of the progressive Hellenization of the Roman Empire, thus violently brought to an end through a series of untoward calamities, culminating in the relentless persecution of the old ethnic religion, the architectural remains in Asia Minor are most instructive, and so numerous that it is impossible here to more than merely indicate the best known of them. Among these are the Roman theatres at Aspendus in Pamphylia, at Patara in Lycia, at Iasus in Caria, and at Æzani in Phrygia, all of the “Composite Order” of architecture; and the Corinthian temple of Venus at Aphrodisias in Caria, the Ionic temple of Jupiter at Æzani, the Corinthian temple of Augustus at Ancyra in Galatea, the “Composite” temples of Jupiter at Patara, and of “all the gods” at

Myra, both in Lycia, and the Corinthian temple near the modern Turkish village of *Kisseljik*, wrongly identified by Fellows with the ancient city of Labranda in Caria.

It was by means of the round-headed arch, superimposed upon the lintel,\* that the Greeks were enabled to secure that combination of magnitude with impressive stability which distinguishes the building style of the imperial period; and, as I have already said, they adopted the expansive framework of the arch from the Etrusco-Italiote architecture of Republican Rome. Yet the universal application of arching and vaulting by them under the Cæsars was probably also in some degree due to the direct reaction at this time of Asiatic, that is, of predominantly Assyrian, forms and methods of construction on the Roman world.

The commercial rivalry of the Greeks with the Phœnicians may be dated from the twelfth century B.C., when the Dorians began to gradually dispossess the Phœnicians of their settlements on the islands of the Ægean Sea, and before the date of the Persian wars in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., Greece had drawn all the surrounding shores of the Mediterranean Sea within the charmed circle of her Hellenic life. Their victorious resistance to Xerxes and Darius, with the consciousness of superiority it inspired, stimulated their energy in every department of national activity, and in particular served to wonderfully develop their commercial enterprise and influence in the Mediterranean during the hundred years [from Thermopylæ B.C. 480 to Chæronæa B.C. 338] of the golden prime of the intellectual power and divine artistic genius of the Hellenic race: and when Carthage, as the military rival of Rome, was levelled to the ground by Scipio Africanus in the same year [B.C. 146] that Corinth was taken by Mummius Achaicus, "the unbruised Greeks" at once took over charge of the commercial business of the

\* The lintel appears above the arch in the later "debased" Roman architecture, in which Byzantine architecture originated.

Phœnicians in the Western Mediterranean, and after the battle of Actium [B.C. 31], where the maritime supremacy of the Phœnicians received its last great blow, the Greeks succeeded them in the Eastern Mediterranean also, and in the control of the commerce of the Indian Ocean; and they held the monopoly thus acquired of the whole sea-borne trade of the Roman Empire down to the conquests of the Saracens in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

The Greeks were now, therefore—about the date of the Christian era—brought, in Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, into familiar and uninterrupted contact with arts that had indeed been already modified by themselves, through the establishment in the fourth century B.C. of the Macedonian dominion of Alexander the Great, and the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, over all Anterior Asia to North-western India [“India alba”], and in Egypt, but which still, particularly in the building style of these countries, preserved traces not to be found in Greece or even in Italy, of the vague and barbaric grandeur of the Egypto-Mesopotamian temples and palaces of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia, wherein the [architecture and subsidiary decorative arts of the civilized world have everywhere had their origin; and probably it was not less to the intimate intercourse of the Greeks from the time of Alexander the Great and his successors with Anterior Asia, than to the universal influence of Rome under the Cæsars, that we owe the aggrandized features of the almost rankly luxuriant classical art of the Græco-Roman period.

At the same time that Greek art was thus adapting itself to the varied requirements of the Roman Empire, it in turn modified the local art of every nation brought under its influence in the course of the conquests of the Cæsars and the commerce of the Greeks, and to this day in Persia, the Panjab, Sindh, Rajputana, Central and Western India, and other countries of the unchanging East, the domestic architecture is more Roman, that is, of the Pompeian villa, or “country house” type, than in modern

Rome itself; a circumstance, undoubtedly, in some part due to the timber construction used in their dwellings by the Aryas wherever they spread themselves, but principally attributable to the direct artistic impress of the Græco-Roman period on these Asiatic regions.

This interaction between the West and the East, produced, between B.C. 226 and A.D. 652, the Sassanian art of Persia.

Again, when classical art, in its later "debased Roman" form, sought a refuge in Constantinople [A.D. 330], from the barbarians who overthrew the Western Empire, it there, in the service of Eastern Christianity, and under the influence of Sassanian and Indo-Buddhistic and Coptic art, transformed itself, between the sixth and twelfth centuries A.D. into Byzantine art; of which a strong outpost was planted at Ravenna, in Italy [A.D. 568-752].

Then on the Nestorian Greeks being driven in the fifth and sixth centuries from Constantinople, they fled into Syria, Persia, and Egypt, and from Persia where, as seceders from the church identified with the Eastern Empire, they were most hospitably received, they spread into Arabia and Central Asia to the confines of China, and into India, until, in the fourteenth century A.D., their further diffusion was cut short by the conquests and persecutions of the Mongols under Timur. But they had carried with them from the first the nascent principles of Byzantine art, and in the seventh and eighth centuries were everywhere accepted by the Saracen Arabs as their architects and artizans; and limiting themselves, in conformity with the religious scruples of their employers, which were in part shared by themselves, to the production of floral and geometrical ornamentation, they, on the foundations of Saracenic, Coptic, and Byzantine art, created Saracenic art as the ultimate Eastern expression of Greek art.

Similarly in the West, on Leo III. [Isauricus], A.D. 717, expelling the makers of images from Constantinople, they sought sanctuary in Italy, where, under the patronage of .

Charlemagne [A.D. 768–814], they gave that direction to the architecture of the Christianized barbarians who had overthrown the Western Empire, which, notwithstanding the continuing vitality of the traditions of classical art in Italy and France, resulted in the development, between the ninth and sixteenth centuries A.D., of the sublime Gothic art of Mediæval Europe.

Such have been the outgrowths from the rudimentary Egypto-Mesopotamian arts of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia, under the fostering influences of the rationalizing, artistic genius of the Greeks; and the debt to it of Sassanian, Indo-Buddhistic, Coptic, Byzantine, Saracenic, and Gothic art, may be learned, not only from the remains of indigenous Egyptian and Mesopotamian architecture, but from those arts of Posterior and Southern Asia, derived directly from Mesopotamia, that have never been modified by the harmonizing touch of the Greeks; or only indirectly and partially, through very imperfect contact with Saracenic art along the secluded commercial coasts, and far remote frontiers of the countries in which they have survived the term put to antiquity in Anterior Asia and Europe by the fall of the Western and Eastern Roman Empires, and the rise of Christendom and Islam. Such are the Hindu arts of Southern or Dravidian India ["India nigra"], and the derived ecclesiastical [Buddhist] arts of Ceylon, Further India, the Indian Archipelago, and the Chinese and Japanese Indies.

But, if the marvellous adaptation to local conditions of the Western forms of Egypto-Mesopotamian art was everywhere the work of the Greeks, and the eastward and westward propagation of them that of the Phœnicians and Arabs, the primitive impulse to the artistic life and activity of the Old World was not given by the skilful Greeks or the "go-a-ducking Phœnicians," but by the redoubtable Hittites, who, advancing their conquering banners

" ——— from Syria  
To Lydia, and to Ionia,"

first extended the religious, military, scientific, artistic, and commercial culture of Asia, from Chaldæa, the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates, westward to our Europe: and this makes their unique importance—by whatever name they may yet be called—in the history of art, as told by its monuments, the most truthful and trustworthy of the authentic archives of antiquity.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

ONE event has taken place during the quarter about which we have a right to feel especial personal satisfaction. From the very first we wrote strongly upon the insecurity of Ayooob's detention in Persia, and that it would be easy for him to escape at any moment, with the result that his presence really constituted an element of danger to the ruler of Afghanistan. Moreover, it involved a waste of Indian treasure, for we were paying a large annual sum without getting any tangible return. Under these conditions, "the Shah being neither the surest of custodians nor Teheran a St. Helena," to quote our own words in July, 1886, we felt bound to recommend diplomatic action for the prompt removal of Ayooob from Teheran to some safer abode near the Persian Gulf. If any diplomatic action was taken it bore no fruit, with the result that twelve months later the world was informed one morning that Ayooob Khan had secretly left his house near the Shah's capital, and that he had obtained a week's start in his flight to the Afghan frontier. The Persian authorities proved to have as little ability to capture him as they had shown in detaining him, and the Afghan frontier was only protected against his inroad by the vigilance of the Ameer's cavalry.

Even after his repulse Ayooob seems to have experienced no difficulty in concealing his whereabouts from the Persian authorities, and only the pressure of want, supported by the persuasion of his cousin Hashim, at last induced him to make his surrender to General Maclean, the British agent at Meshed. As Ayooob formally yielded to our representative, and not to the Persians, it was only natural that he



should be offered an asylum in India, and there is no doubt that the offer was accepted. As this happened six weeks ago, the delay in carrying out the change is to be regretted, and especially so because Ayooob has been allowed to return to his former residence, where he again passes under the old Teheran influences which alienated him from us and stimulated his ambitious designs on Afghanistan. The opportunity of a second escape has thus been quite unnecessarily placed within his reach, and if he resolves or is induced to avail himself of it we cannot doubt that his next flight will be to Russia, which he may reasonably count on reaching in safety. The risk of this unpleasant development of the Ayooob incident has been incurred quite unnecessarily, for it would have been very easy to have sent him direct to Ispahan, where his family could have joined him, and where he would be perfectly safe in the hands of Prince Zil es Sultan. We shall only have ourselves to blame if Ayooob again makes his escape, and falls finally under the influence of Russia, who is quite alive to the advantages to be derived from the services of a prince with the pretensions and ability of this chief representative of the Shere Ali branch of the ruling family in Afghanistan.

The Dhulip Singh incident would seem to show that we have not a very happy way of dealing with personages who are objects of some political solicitude to us, and who have taken umbrage at the treatment they have received at our hands. It would be very easy to magnify the little political importance possessed by Dhulip Singh, but no act of ours could have enhanced it more than the step taken by the Government of India in forbidding his visit to India after the home authorities had expressed indifference as to his journey. If his visit was dangerous, the safe plan was to have let the Maharajah continue his trip, so that the danger might be revealed, and that its author should take the consequences of his own proceedings. If it was not attended with danger the proper course to pursue was to show absolute indifference to the proceedings of an erratic

individual. As an exile in Russia and a pensioner of the Czar, Dhulip Singh can always be brought forward as a living instance of British harshness—it matters nothing to the effect produced that the charge may be demonstrably untrue—and his services may be utilized in some more effectual way than in sending absurd telegrams to the Nizam. We have no wish to exaggerate the importance of Dhulip Singh, nor do we think that, on the whole, the sums of money he received from first to last were inadequate to his legitimate claims. But too often they were given in the shape of doles, and after delays which deprived them of much of their value. He will find Russia a worse paymaster, however, and after a short period of expectation and disappointment we have no doubt that he will be in the frame of mind to listen to a judiciously worded intimation that his material interests will be best served by making his surrender to us in imitation of the example set by a still bitterer foe of the English, Ayooob Khan. The following communication from a distinguished and long-experienced Anglo-Indian officer puts forward a powerful plea in his behalf; and we think that it deserves some consideration :—

“So much has been said and written lately against Dhulip Singh, whilst no one, as far as I am aware, has wagged a finger to explain his conduct, that I feel urged to submit to the public the reasons which, I believe, from my own personal knowledge of the prince, induced one who had thoroughly enjoyed English life, who had mixed on the most intimate terms with the best families, even with royalty, suddenly to change his habits, to abandon the country in which he had occupied a conspicuous social position, and to become one of its most virulent enemies.

“Before entering upon this task I desire to notice certain statements which I regret have been allowed, since the Maharaja's departure, to appear in the public papers, throwing doubt on the legitimacy of his birth. There were no Englishmen in the Punjab when Dhulip Singh was born. It is therefore absolutely impossible that any of the doubters I have referred to could have any personal knowledge on the subject. That their opinions must have been derived solely from hearsay is plain from the fact that different writers assign different fathers to the prince, whom, since his fall, they combine to bespatter. On the other hand, we have the fact that Dhulip Singh was born in the royal apartments of the Lahore Palace: that his mother was the wife of Runjit Singh; that Runjit Singh at once acknow-

ledged him as his son; and that at a later period the Sikhs and the British Government acknowledged him as a successor to, because a son of, Runjit Singh. The gentlemen who impugn the legitimacy of Dhulip Singh's birth cannot give a better warrant for the chastity of their own escutcheons.

"Having thus cleared the ground regarding his birth, I proceed to the main point, the real cause of his profound dissatisfaction with the British Government. Dhulip Singh was called to the throne of the Punjab on the death of his half-brother, Sher Singh, in September, 1843, he being then only four years and three months old. Two years later, the Sikh chiefs, to rid themselves of the Sikh army, which had become all-powerful in the State, urged that army across the British frontier, and then betrayed it. The consequence was, the defeat of the Sikhs, the wresting from the kingdom of Dhulip Singh of two provinces, and, a little later, the signing of the Treaty, officially called the Agreement, of Bhyrowal, December 16, 1846, under which (Preamble and Art. vi.) Dhulip Singh was constituted the ward of the British Government, and a British Resident was nominated to control the Council of Regency, 'with full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.'

"Less than two years later the Sikh soldiery, previously so formidable to the successors of Runjit Singh, rose in revolt against the British, the guardians of Dhulip Singh. It is not pretended that Dhulip Singh, then just ten years old, had any share in that uprising. But no sooner had the British, still acting under the terms of the Agreement of Bhyrowal, completely subdued the Sikh army, than they made Dhulip Singh pay the penalty of a revolt in which he had had no share. In a word, the guardian despoiled the ward, when that ward was an irresponsible minor. The British took the kingdom of the innocent prince, and ensured him, in exchange, a life-provision of about £40,000 a year.

"Dhulip Singh has assured me that he never understood the true nature of this transaction till after the death of Colonel Oliphant, his officially appointed resident counsellor, some eleven years ago. When, after that event, he had studied all the papers and mastered all the details, his feelings were those of a ward who had suddenly made the discovery that his guardian had swindled him out of his ancestral estates. Even then, however, there was time to avert a catastrophe inevitable unless promptly stayed. The bestowal upon him of English rank and of a permanent income proportionate to that rank would, whilst still constituting an advantageous arrangement on the whole transaction for England, have sufficed to soothe his wounded pride, to atone for the confiscation of private estates and of a kingdom. But when nothing in that way was done for him, when the money necessary to pay his debts, large as it was, had to be wrung by importunity, his whole nature changed; he gave up the Hall at Elvedon, and the shooting which with him had become a passion, and from a friend of the English, became their inveterate enemy. With Asiatics hatred is a passion which absorbs every feeling. I would beg the English people not to be bitter against this man, who has been driven wild by the conviction of the wrongs he has received. It is, with him, an honest conviction, and I believe that it lies still within the power of the British Government to restore to him his lost tranquillity by repairing the wrong which was undoubtedly perpetrated in 1849."

That much is to be said in favour of the alleged illegitimacy of Dhulip Singh, the following statement will show, but it is impossible to get over the substantial fact of our formal recognition of him as Runjeet's successor :—

“The facts are stated plainly enough by Sir Lepel Griffin in his ‘Punjab Chiefs,’ which just now is out of print, and the revised edition has not yet made its appearance. The true story of Dhuleep Singh's birth is as follows :—Maharaja Runjit Singh, though he had sixteen wives and a whole bevy of slave-girls in his *harem*, never had but one son, legitimate or illegitimate. This only son was Khurrak Singh. Dhuleep Singh's mother was the daughter of a Jat trooper, and according to one story his father was a man of the same caste. Another version makes out that Dhuleep's father was a sweeper who had charge of the Maharaja's dogs. Whichever it was, Runjit Singh was certainly not the father, and this fact was perfectly well known to every one. ‘Perhaps no Court in the world,’ says Sir Lepel Griffin, ‘was ever more depraved than that of Maharaja Runjit Singh. The notorious intrigues of his wives, which were the common talk of the Lahore bazaar, seemed rather to amuse than to disconcert the Lion of the Punjab. He was accustomed to accept their children readily; and whenever a new addition to his reputed family made its appearance, would cynically ask, ‘Whence this mysterious stroke of fortune?’”

The concluding stage of the delimitation work on the Afghan frontier is progressing satisfactorily. Majors Yate and Peacocke have agreed with their Russian colleagues as to the exact line of the new pillars of demarcation between the Kushk and Murghab, and the news has just been received that they will at once proceed to the Oxus, there to complete the work left undone round the district of Kham-i-Ab. It must be admitted that the task has been quickly achieved, and the safe journey of the Anglo-Indian escort through Afghanistan is further evidence of the greater security of life in that country, and of the stability of the Ameer's power. At the same rate of progress the English officers and their escort should be back in India in February, when both England and Russia will be able to contemplate their completed handiwork on the Afghan frontier. Some criticism has been bestowed on the value of the agreement arrived at, and a controversy has arisen as to the degree of fertility, or the reverse, which most accurately describes the condition of the district of Badghis.

We have never hesitated to express the strongest possible opinion that General Lumsden's frontier and even Penjdeh were worth fighting for, but once they were given up, and Russia was admitted south of the desert, a few miles more or less mattered little. Moreover, it must be remembered that the little surrendered has received a tangible compensation and equivalent on the Oxus, and still more the formal conclusion of the whole negotiation—which from our point of view was the main object of all, as it shows the English people clearly what Russia may and may not do. Another very important consideration is that the Ameer of Afghanistan is fully satisfied with his newly-defined frontier, and we feel pretty sure that after Ayoob has been deported to India he will take steps to carry out his projected tour along his own borders. It may consequently be contended that all the important results since the Penjdeh incident have been as much in our favour as there was any right to suppose that they could be. Lord Salisbury, it must be remembered, was not the originator of the negotiation between the two Governments; he had to carry on the work begun by his predecessors, and taking a broad view of the matter, England and India have as much reason to be content with its results as the Ameer of Afghanistan. The future of the Afghan frontier does not depend on whether Russia has obtained fertile land or desert, but on whether we have the resolution to maintain its integrity.

While Russian activity in Central Asia is concentrated on the rapid completion of the railway to Samarcand, the effort to increase the Russian navy in the Pacific has been sustained, and the present year promises to witness a considerable development in the marine maintained in that ocean for military and commercial purposes. The Patriotic Fleet is to be introduced to a larger sphere of operations, and brought into closer dependence on the Admiralty; and while additional means will be thus provided for the increase of Siberian trade, the nucleus of a formidable

fleet of cruisers to be used in time of war in Chinese and Japanese waters will have been brought together. The following article from *The Moscow Gazette* explains the new arrangement established between the company owning the Patriotic Fleet and the Russian Government :—

“The contract entered into between the Patriotic Fleet Committee and the Government comes into force on the 1st January next. It provides that the Committee shall for a period of five years possess the right of maintaining communications by steamer between Vladivostock, Korsakoff, and the ports of Kamchatka and the sea of Okotsk. The tariff for passengers and merchandise is not to exceed that of official despatches. The latter clause of the tariff is expected to give a great impulse to Russian commerce in the Far East, but it is not the most important. The most valuable consequence of the change is that the Siberian squadron, relieved of its duties in the postal service, which occupied all its time, will be reinforced in accordance with political requirements. That squadron, indeed, stands in need of being refitted, several of the vessels composing it being in very bad condition. Their repair will be taken in hand at once, and several of them will be struck off the register of the fleet. It is also understood that the Pacific fleet will be increased in number, and the ports improved in their construction. Depôts of coal, naphtha, provisions, and ammunition are also to be formed. The want of initiative shown by Russian merchants and traders in their relations with China and Japan is often pointed out. Without the support of a considerable combative fleet, ready to support our countrymen, this initiative cannot be expected, for the experience of other nations shows that the visible presence of military force is essential in those countries. Within the last few years the number of our men-of-war has been increased in the waters of the Far East. The vessels of the Baltic squadron are required to take their turn of service there. As they are chiefly engaged in transport work, there is very little cruising done which is injurious to our interests, and to the prestige of our flag. Of ten men-of-war employed on foreign service five are stationed in the East, and of these two are at Yokohama and one at Nagasaki. The remaining two are at Vladivostock. This force is insignificant, especially as the vessels themselves are only of moderate strength, being one frigate, two corvettes, and two clippers. Workshops, depôts, and harbours are required for the increase of our fleet, as we cannot count on being able to use those of China and Japan at all times. The situation will be very soon changed, when Russian merchants will have no excuse for throwing the blame on the Government if complaint is made of their want of initiative.”

The significance of this article consists in its preparing the way for an immediate increase in numbers and efficiency of the Russian fleet in the Pacific, which to those concerned for the security of British merchantmen

in those waters had seemed large and formidable enough without any augmentation. An increase in the Russian navy in this direction is not merely the bringing to bear of a greater force at one of the vital points of British commerce, but it constitutes the first and essential preliminary of operations for the injury of Corea, from which must ensue deplorable results to the maintenance of the present equilibrium of power in Eastern waters. The talk of Russia's designs on Corea now goes back so far (*The Spectator* having been the first to sound the note of alarm eight or nine years ago) that it may have come to be regarded as a mere cry of "Wolf," but the "very soon" of *The Moscow Gazette* shows that far from having passed away, the danger is nearer and more real than ever.

The pacification of Burmah has not reached such a satisfactory stage as was imagined. The disturbances in the Chin district, and the desultory fighting with the Kachyens on the Yunnan borders, warn us that the country is not yet pacified, and that a further problem awaits solution on the extreme frontier of our Empire. The present cold season will witness a renewal of operations against the Dacoits, while the task entrusted to General Sir Robert Low of opening up the Chin country may have more important results than even the bringing under our authority of a new and almost unexplored region. It is through their territory that a direct route from Mandalay to Munipore would lie, and the chances of a successful issue for the expedition are considered to be much increased by the reputation and experience of Captain Raikes, the political officer attached to the column. How far the anticipations of a satisfactory issue for this semi-coercive and semi-exploring expedition may be disappointed by the unfortunate escape of the Kale Tsabwa remains to be seen ; but there is no doubt of his influence, and he owes Captain Raikes a personal grudge for having deposed him. With regard to the establishment of direct communications between Mandalay and Bengal, a party has been sent out from Chittagong, and it is hoped

that it will be able to get within signalling distance of the head of General Low's column.

A far more serious problem is involved in the position of affairs in the Kachyen hills. There we have to deal with predatory and savage tribes inhabiting a range of mountains difficult of access, and with still more difficult country in its rear. The preliminary operations undertaken against them with too little precaution and preparation resulted in our arms receiving a check which cannot fail to greatly embolden these tribes, and against which their repulse more recently in an attack on the village of Mawhun is not a complete set-off. There was nothing really to discover in the fact, but these incidents compel the recognition that we have advanced on our Eastern frontier into the close proximity of fierce and combative tribes, not less formidable in their way than those we found as our neighbours in the Punjab nearly forty years ago.

The Kachyens are to be vanquished and harmonized with our rule, not only by punitive expeditions, but by a policy of improved communications within our borders, and of co-operation with China. The improvement in our internal communications has been begun, and will steadily progress. But it must be long before they can have sufficiently advanced to exercise any material influence on the sentiments of these tribes. It is from the co-operation of China, therefore, that we must expect better and more immediate results, but towards obtaining that, little or nothing has yet been done. The Chinese have been blamed for not establishing a more visible and direct authority over those tribes who come under the designation of the frontagers of Yunnan, but after our recent experience, which time is likely to expand, it will be more clearly perceived that China was wise to leave them undisturbed in their fastnesses. We also may have cause to regret our not having selected two years ago a river frontier in the Irrawaddy and Shweley, but at any rate it is now clear that if we want tranquil Eastern borders we must take steps to procure the joint action of



the Chinese with ourselves in ensuring the peace of the districts intervening between the two Empires, and in keeping the main routes followed by travellers and caravans safe from marauders, as well as in a good and passable condition.

While it is easy enough to say what ought to be done, it is more difficult to see how it is to be effected, and the delay in commencing the Anglo-Chinese Frontier Delimitation, which is thought very good policy, because it is deemed desirable that the solidity of the English conquest should be rendered indisputable before the Chinese are called in, is not encouraging to those who would like to see England and China cordially agreeing upon a common line of policy wherever their respective authorities march. It is said that the Commission will be nominated in the summer, and that it will commence its labours with the cold season at the end of the year. The names of both Mr. Colborne Baber and Mr. Archibald Colquhoun are mentioned as being likely to be members of the Commission, and no appointments could be better. Still we fancy that the question will be found to bristle with difficulties, and, if they are smoothed over and disappear, it will be largely due to China's fear of a fresh development of French energy in Tonquin and the Shan States.

If we are to judge what our future relations with China on the Burmah frontier will be from our past and present experiences on other borders which we hold in common with the Celestial Empire, the prospect is not altogether encouraging. The situation of affairs in Sikhim is unprecedented, and would have been regarded as intolerable only a few years ago. A part of Indian territory belonging to a chief in absolute dependence on ourselves, who was only saved from extinction at the hands of the Goorkhas by our active intervention, has been invaded and occupied by a rabble force nominally acting under the orders of the Tibetan lamas, but really controlled by the Chinese Resident at Lhasa, who is probably acting in opposition to his orders from Peking. This act of encroachment began more

than six months ago. It has enjoyed the toleration of the Government of India for half a year, and the Tibetan leaders, encouraged by this apathy on our part following the unquestionable withdrawal of the intended Mission to Lhasa in consequence of their threatening attitude, will be emboldened to have recourse to greater lengths in asserting their clerical prerogatives over the Buddhistic races dwelling south of the Himalayan range. The forces they can array are insignificant and contemptible, and the powers at their beck and call can inspire no terror. Still it is a mistake to allow even such insignificant antagonists to gather strength and to have the opportunity of conceiving that they may be of importance, for at the least it involves when the final effort has to be made a greater display of force and expenditure.

But it also involves and includes a far more radical and serious mistake. The forbearance of the Government of India is meant to impress the Chinese with the cordiality of its feelings towards them, and with our desire to respect all their rights and to spare their susceptibilities. Our well-intentioned but blundering hesitation in asserting our authority and in repelling invasion, to which the Tibetan raid and occupation amounts, will result in expanding China's rights, and in creating susceptibilities where none existed. If we had driven the Tibetans out at once and coerced the silly ruler of Tumlong, the Chinese would never have felt interested in the marauders, nor identified themselves with the rebuff inflicted on them. By the course we have pursued these Tibetans are in some sense identified with China, and their overthrow will reflect in a degree on China. The moral of all this is that we cannot too frankly define all China's frontier claims, or too promptly take steps to abrogate and put an end to them by a joint and amicable agreement. If we neglect this, it is the rock ahead on which our friendship and alliance will break.

While these unsettled questions press more and more upon our attention disturbances have broken out in the

Himalayan kingdom of Nepaul with the government of which we are sentimentally on the best of terms, but which is really inaccessible to our influence and investigation. Runbir Singh, son of the famous Jung Bahadur, has after an exile of several years made an effort to recover his former position of supreme counsellor in the State, and the present ruling faction is said to have so far alienated the good will of the people and the army that he stands a good chance of success. We fear these prognostications are too sanguine, for Runbir Singh is known to entertain more liberal views than those prevalent at the court of Khatmandoo, and to be disposed to lean more openly upon the English alliance, and therefore his success would be welcomed as heralding a relaxation in the present exclusive policy of Nepaul. That policy is injurious to us not merely as an affair of high politics, but because it throws serious obstacles in the way of the recruiting of that important branch of the Indian army known as the Goorkha regiments. Runbir Singh would probably modify the existing regulations, which would be beneficial both to us and to the Goorkhas, and once this step was taken other acts of cordiality might be expected to follow in its train.

The failure of Runbir Singh will not avert the necessity of grappling seriously with the question of our relations with Nepaul. No stone should be left unturned to improve them, to increase the cordiality that ought naturally to exist between Calcutta and Khatmandoo, and to promote the mutual knowledge of the Goorkha and English peoples. How these objects are to be obtained is no easy matter to decide, but one reasonable mode seems to be the increase in dignity of the Residentsip at the court of Nepaul. If this can only be done by the *éclat* of a special mission, the present time appears particularly favourable to this new departure, considering that Mr. Girdlestone will in all probability be transferred to another post, and the arrival of his successor would afford a natural occasion for some exceptional display. If we must be careful in specify-

ing the means by which the policy is to be commenced and carried on, there is no need for similar hesitation in expressing the strongest conviction that our present arrangements with Nepaul are out of date and unsuitable to the situation. A remedy must be discovered in some shape or form, and there is the more inducement to discover it, because the solution of this difficulty will do much to simplify the gradual abandonment of those rights of suzerainty, which, although China has prized and still prizes them so much, are an anachronism, and must be gradually waived in face of the exigences of a civilized neighbourhood. Nepaul is the most powerful and least dependent of all the nominal vassals of China. It is also the State in that condition which is most intimately connected with ourselves. If we can solve the problem of dissolving Chinese pretensions without injuring Chinese self-respect in this State we may reasonably hope to fare as well elsewhere. The Chinese are, perhaps, as anxious as we are to see daylight in adjusting relations controlled by pride and prejudice, and their courtesy to English travellers in Central Asia, of whom Mr. Younghusband, of the Dragoon Guards, is only the latest, shows that they are disposed to strain much in our favour, and to depart from their former courses of obstruction and hostility.

While we are thinking of Burmah, Tibet, and Nepaul, Siam should not be neglected, and there is evidence that France is working there skilfully and well. Within the last few weeks Siam has abandoned her right to tax imports from Cochin China and Cambodia, a right about which she seemed disposed to fight only a few years ago, and not content with this concession she has given another in granting an *exequatur* to the French Consul at Luang Prabang. As Siam must play an important part in the development of Indo-China, and as her claims on many of the Shan States can be turned to practical use, it follows that our vigilance should not be relaxed in any degree, and the elaborate Report prepared by Messrs. Colquhoun and Holt

Hallett on the Railway connection with China supplies copious and valuable information on the subject. We are still only on the threshold of the expected development of the peninsula of Indo-China, and of the redistribution of its component states.

The domestic affairs of China during the past quarter have not been disturbed in any marked degree. The marriage of the emperor has been put off on the ground, as alleged, of his youth and of the expense it would involve, but perhaps the real explanation is to be found in the Empress Regent,\* not Empress Mother as the papers persist in calling her, wishing to keep Kwangsu in leading strings a little longer. The reported death of the emperor's father, Prince Chun, has not been confirmed, and as the news emanated from Shanghai, the long interval without any corroboration from the capital throws doubt on the accuracy of the statement. In any case it is not possible to regard the event as of the first importance. Prince Chun's position was attended with as much embarrassment as authority, and there is no reason to suppose that he possessed a stronger will than the widow of his deceased brother, the Emperor Hienfung. Since he came prominently forward, about five years ago, he was constrained to adopt the diametrically opposite policy to that he recommended in the privacy of the palace, and with which his name was identified. As the inevitable consequence his political reputation diminished in the eyes of European observers as his acts became more and more imitative of the consistent policy of Li Hung Chang. The reputation of that statesman has been steadily increasing, and his skill in dealing with American syndicates has shown him to be not less a man of business than his diplomacy in the delicate Korean question has proved him to be a statesman of real merit.

While it is satisfactory to feel in regard to the Mitkiewicz

\* Her precise relationship to him is that she is the widow of his uncle, the Emperor Hienfung.

fiasco shows that our American cousins have not given us the go-by in securing the promising concessions connected with the development of China, we must not neglect to note the full significance of their failure. It means that the Chinese are either reluctant to give any concessions, or that they will place an extreme and perhaps virtually prohibitive price on any concessions they care to make. The exploiting of China must therefore prove a slow growth, although it is very probable that, when once a start has been made, the progress will prove rapid. But still, it will be noted that, notwithstanding all the talk of the last few years, China remains in precisely the same state as before, and that not a mile of railway has yet been laid down. The facts are not encouraging. Disappointment may lie ahead in another direction. The rumour is rife at present that we may expect shortly a rise in silver, and the weightiest reason advanced is that China is about to increase her coinage of silver. This may possess some better basis than is sufficient to bring about a boom in the Stock Markets, but we fail to see it; and, in our opinion, the increase of China's currency must follow, not precede, the adoption of a liberal commercial policy and the inauguration of railways.

There is nothing of importance in regard to the internal affairs of India to chronicle. The National Indian Congress occupies some of our space this quarter, but as our readers would not be in a position to judge its real merits without referring to Sir Lepel Griffin's bold criticism of the Congress and its promoters, we append the speech he made on the subject in December. As it is candid and outspoken it need not be added that it has met and will meet with much unfriendly criticism, but it is long since a responsible Anglo-Indian official showed such courage in speaking out home truths in indifference to Government policy, and in open encouragement of those vigorous races, Hindoo and Mahomedan, of India who have been slighted by Viceroys of recent years, in comparison with the much-favoured Bengalee.

"One of the reasons for which I urge you Mahrattas to utilize the educational advantages which we offer you is, that you may take your rightful intellectual place in India, and keep the Bengalees, who are now everywhere very active, in their proper place. You are their superiors in ability, in strength, and in courage; they are only your superiors in noise and volubility. If they should be your leaders it would be an army of lions commanded by grasshoppers. If you look at the history of the world you will find that strong nations like the English, the Mahrattas, the Rajpoots, and Sikhs were never ruled by weak and unwarlike races like the Bengalees. Courage is the quality which governs the world, and the bravest people are everywhere and justly triumphant. Do not then allow the Bengalees to deceive you with their talk about national congresses and representative institutions. Be content with your own Mahratta nationality, and believe me that representative institutions are as much suited to India as they are to the moon. India is composed of many different nations, with very little in common; and it is as foolish to hope to unite them as to join in one nation Russians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen, who are more closely connected by civilization and descent than the various peoples of India.

"The so-called 'National' Congress is a sham, and the delegates are only appointed by themselves and their friends. Hindoos of position and authority will not join it, and the only Mahomedans who attend are a few obscure and notoriety-seeking persons. How do you believe that anything national can come out of a meeting where the chief promoters have lost their own nationality, and have adopted the dress and food and ways of foreigners?

"My advice to you Mahrattas is to distrust natives of India who have given up their caste and their national dress. Cherish and observe your ancient and noble religion, cherish and observe strictly your rules of caste—which missionaries and philanthropists tell you is a bad thing, but which is in reality the mortar which holds together the building of Indian society. If you take it away nothing will be left but ruins. There are many bad and inconvenient things in caste, but its advantages are greater than its evils. We cannot have perfection, and if we destroyed everything that was not perfect, we should have to get rid of all our friends, and possibly make away with ourselves."

## REVIEWS.

*Russia.*

THESE two volumes ["Russia : Political and Social," by L. TIKHOMIROW, translated from the French by EDWARD AVELING, D.Sc. Two vols. (Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey, and Co.)] give such a picture of the condition of Russia as regards both the material well-being of the people and their relations with the Government, as has never previously been placed before the English reader, for Stepniak's writings, which will recur to the mind, relate to a special class of political intriguers and enthusiasts. Mr. Tikhomirow's work is more remarkable for the impression it conveys to the general inquirer of the hopeless impasse into which the relations between the Czar and his subjects have been brought by the policy of the Reactionaries, than for the precise and judiciously expressed views and information that one would have expected to find in it from some of our reviewers' notices. Mr. Tikhomirow shows much passion, and we suspect prejudice also, in describing the political and social condition of his country, which is quite bad enough without any exaggeration; but making allowance for this personal, or it may be national, failing, his account of Russia remains the most suggestive description of that country in its internal conditions and relations that perhaps has ever issued from the press. Although Mr. Tikhomirow gives a sketch of Russian conquests, and expresses the bold opinion with regard to Central Asia, that the Syr Darya is her proper boundary, the greater and the most interesting part of the volumes relates to the people in their family life, their social and religious practices, and the



silent but deeply felt opinion as to the manner in which they are governed. We have said that Mr. Tikhomirow gives a vivid picture of Russia, but we are a little in doubt whether it is absolutely true and trustworthy. Mr. Tikhomirow has only himself to thank for this doubt, as he cannot surely expect us to believe that public opinion to-day is formed by a sense of wrong at the acts of Catherine II., the mad Paul, and the weak Peter III., whose partiality to favourites and autocratic ways are adduced over and over again as the causes of present national discontent and hostility to the constituted Government. The work is one sure to find a wide circle of readers, only too many of whom will accept the author's conclusions, without pausing to verify his facts, and the evidence on which they are based. When the great Russian revolution comes as anticipated by M. Tikhomirow, we expect, not merely as he does, the disappearance of the Romanoffs, but the disruption of Russia. Only the Czar holds that unwieldy empire together.

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*Verestchagin.*

THE reminiscences and sketches of the Russian painter and traveller Verestchagin [*"Vassili Verestchagin,"* translated by F. H. PETERS. With Illustrations. Two vols. (Richard Bentley and Sons.)] are well worth production in an English form, and the narrative, which is written partly by Mr. Verestchagin and partly by his wife, covers travels in many lands from Siberia to Bulgaria, and the Caucasus to Sikhim, and deals with some historical events such as the last Russo-Turkish war and the campaigns in Central Asia. There are also many interesting and life-like details about Skobeleff with whom Verestchagin was intimately associated, and what is remarkable about his account of the young Russian general is that he is the only one of his friends and admirers who shows any dis-

crimination in judging his character. Mr. Verestchagin has with considerable tact assigned to Mrs. Verestchagin the task of describing their Indian tour, so that his countrymen may take the less umbrage at the compliments paid to us and the inhabitants of the Peninsula, while his English hosts can submit with a better grace to the little amount of adverse criticism offered. If the reminiscences of the Russo-Turkish war and of General Skobelev (including the anecdotes about the Emperor of Germany and the late Red Prince) form the most attractive portion of the two volumes, there is still much of interest in the chapter relating to Central Asia. Mr. Verestchagin is not a believer in the value of the possessions in Turkestan. He writes: "There would be some sense in this terribly expensive territorial aggrandisement, if it were to serve as a demonstration against European enemies;" and he also speaks of the danger to Russia from the Mahomedan population. Mr. Verestchagin's work is a useful corollary, and perhaps corrective, of Mr. Tikhomirov's volumes, and if it is written with less skill and point this is more than compensated for by its obvious gain in sincerity from not having been written with a purpose.

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*The Corsairs of France.*

CAPTAIN NORMAN has collected in this volume from the most patriotic French sources an account of the chief naval exploits of the Grande Nation during its long struggle for maritime superiority with this country ["The Corsairs of France," by C. B. NORMAN. (Sampson Low and Co.)]. If some of the facts are not quite historical, there is still some advantage in having the question treated in the least friendly way for our prejudices and preconceptions, if only because we thus ascertain the worst that can be said of our discomfiture, and the most

flattering rendering of our adversary's success. The victories gained by Jean Bart and his successors, many as they were, contained some element of satisfaction. Brilliantly conceived and daringly carried out as their plans were they never affected the crucial question of the supremacy of the seas. When that supremacy was most emphatically decided in our favour the corsairs of France were causing our marine as much annoyance as in the dubious days of Ruyter's visit to the Thames, or those that preceded the defeat of the Count de Grasse in the West Indies. The inference from this is clear that even when the superiority of our naval force is fully established there remains real danger for our commercial marine, and as that marine was never so extensive as it is at the present time, it follows that the peril will be greater in the future than it proved in the past. The Indian Ocean was a favourite cruising ground of these French adventurers, and some of the exploits of Robert Surcouf, one of the last and most successful of the corsairs, whose deeds form the subject of this volume, were performed in the Bay of Bengal and near the mouth of the Hooghly. The whole work will repay perusal, and suggests as a moral that in a time of war our trading and passenger vessels would have to be fitted out for defence, and to show the same spirit as the old East Indiamen, who several times, as recorded in this volume, beat off unaided the attacks of French privateers.

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*Lotus and Jewel.*

MR. EDWIN ARNOLD'S latest collection of poems ["Lotus and Jewel." (Trübner and Co.)] will fully sustain if it does not even enhance the reputation as a poet of the author of "The Light of Asia." "In an Indian Temple" has all the Oriental flavour and the keen insight into the mystery of Buddhism which might be expected from Mr. Arnold's

previous writings, and "A Queen's Revenge" is a brilliant rendering of a striking episode from the great Indian epic, the Mahabharata. The former poem is full of beautiful passages, and Gunga's love-songs may be compared in their way to those of wily Vivien. The casket of gems is composed of eighteen sonnets to different precious stones, from rubies to diamonds, and amber to jade. Among the other poems are, in our opinion, some of the best things in the volume. "The Snake and the Baby," and "A Rajput Nurse," will appeal to the heart of every reader with or without Indian experience, while Mr. Arnold's rendering might, in both cases, be adopted by the people of India themselves as national and popular ballads. Everything Mr. Arnold writes about India is marked by intense sympathy and enthusiasm, and no English writer has ever approached his subject with a more sincere desire not merely to do it justice, but to identify himself with the sentiments of those, the beauties of whose ways and religion he wishes to bring out in clear and imperishable colours for the benefit of his countrymen and posterity. Mr. Arnold is also a true poet, and his "Lotus and Jewel" furnishes abundant proof, if any were needed, that his claim to this high title is based on accomplished work, and not on friendly compliments.

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*French Travellers in Central Asia.*

THE recent journey of the French travellers, MM. Bonvalot and Capus, from Turkestan to India invests with fresh interest the account published two years ago of their former trip, and which had escaped our notice. This work ["En Asie Centrale," par GABRIEL BONVALOT. Deux Tomes. (Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie.)] gives a detailed and almost minute account of a journey from Moscow to Bactria, and from Samarcand to the Caspian. The more interesting portion of the work relates to the region lying outside Russian jurisdiction, and to the Turcoman desert then only

lately annexed to the Russian Empire, and fortunately this forms its bulk, as M. Bonvalot is careful to avoid unnecessary diffuseness in treating of well-known places such as Tashkent. Instead of printing old news about one quarter of Central Asia, he gives the very best account we know of Eastern Bokhara and the Oxus valley. The important towns and places Karshi, Kilif, Shirabad, Termes, and Guzar, are admirably described, and, as several of these places are of great strategical and military importance, our Indian Intelligence Department should not omit to take note of all the information provided by this narrative. The general reader will find on perusal that the two volumes furnish very pleasant reading, and that they contain plenty of incident apart from their value as a solid contribution to the study of the peoples and politics of Central Asia. The illustrations are taken from drawings by M. Capus, and there are two useful maps.

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*Borneo.*

IF the scene of this story were in Africa instead of Borneo we should judge of its truth or fiction by whether the name on the title-page was Thomson or Haggard. We have no certain guide to the truth, but the grave and respectable names there argue in favour of its being a narrative of fact ["Ran Away from the Dutch; or, Borneo from South to North," by M. T. H. PERELAER, late Dutch Indian Service, translated by MAURICE BLOK, and adapted by A. P. MENDES. (Sampson Low and Co.)]; how far this belief may be borne out by the facts themselves as recorded in the volume, and the weird scenes and adventures described, must be decided by the reader himself after perusing the work. Several of the characters are finely drawn, such as the Dutch Colonel, the half-breed Johannes, and the Dyak Dalim, and the youthful reader cannot complain of any deficiency of adventure and excitement. At the least it

may be assumed that Mr. Perelaer writes with personal knowledge of the Dutch *régime* in the East Indies, and if so, he is not complimentary to either its *morale* or efficiency. On the other hand, the impression he leaves of the Dyaks is that they are a fine race susceptible of improvement.

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*Papers relating to Indo-China.*

THE second series of "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago, reprinted for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" (Trübner and Co., two vols.), cannot be pronounced as interesting as the first, noticed in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of July, 1886. The subjects themselves are not attractive, and we very much fear that the readers who will be encouraged to peruse these volumes after the first inspection must be few indeed. Fortunately, a good index simplifies the task of reference for those who happen to be interested in any of the twelve subjects discussed in these two volumes, and, as the Straits branch of the Asiatic Society does much good work, which is not brought very prominently before even Orientalists in England it is, of course, an advantage to have its papers preserved from time to time in an easily accessible form, and produced under the care of such an accomplished editor as Dr. Rost.

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*The Trans-Caspian Railway.*

MUCH interest as the Russian railway east of the Caspian has attracted among us, it is singular to find that no reference has been made to the best account of the line yet published in any language—that of Dr. Heyfelder, a German official in the Russian service, who accompanied General Skobelev on his Turcoman expedition, and who enjoys the friendship of General Annenkoff ["Transkaspien und seine

Eisenbahn, von DR. O. HEYFELDER, Hannover, 1888. Price 8 marks]. The volume contains a complete account of the construction of the line, and of its intended branches and continuations, besides a *resumé* of the political and military events which led up to its inception. In short, all the information that could possibly be desired on the subject is to be found within its pages, and the illustrations, maps of the line and of Mikhaïl Gulf, and list of stations, add considerably to its usefulness and interest. The work is one that should certainly be at the disposal of all our military and political departments concerned in Russian operations in Central Asia.

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*Notes in Asia Minor.*

THESE notes in Asia Minor are both with pen and pencil ["Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor," by WILLIAM COCHRAN. Illustrated. (Sampson Low and Co.)], and, so far as they have any connecting thread or definite object, it is the culture of silk in Asiatic Turkey. After some experience of the cultivation of this article in China, Mr. Cochran proceeded to the Sultan's Asiatic dominions to inquire on the spot into the present condition and future prospects of sericulture in a quarter of the world where it is probably of as ancient date as in China. The result of his inquiries is recorded in this volume, with much more of local interest collected in the ordinary course of a tour through regions of great interest in antiquity and at the present day. He has much to say on the Pasteur system of curing disease, which he carefully studied in practice during a twelve months' residence on a silk farm kept by an Englishman, Mr. Griffit, near Smyrna. The industry has been introduced into New Zealand, where both the climate and soil seems admirably adapted for the cultivation of silk. Incidentally Mr. Cochran touches on a very important matter—the competition of German merchants, and their patronage by the

Government under the auspices of Prince Bismarck. He has also some sensible and pertinent remarks about the better technical and linguistic knowledge of Germans, and this advantage is likely to be increased by the establishment of the new Oriental Academy at Berlin. Probably there is no part of the world where English merchants have made less of their opportunities than in the Sultan's dominions, although they long enjoyed there conspicuous advantages over every other nation. Is it too late to make a commencement towards recovering lost ground?

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*Modern Military History.*

ALTHOUGH Mr. Maguire's book has but little to say of Asiatic warfare, military science and efficiency have so much to do with our position in India and the East generally, that we may take the opportunity to recommend it as a useful work to all studying for military examinations. The immediate object is to facilitate the study of the textbooks on Strategy and Tactics, used by officers of all branches of the service. The idea is an excellent one, and, with the exception of a few errors of detail which can be easily removed in later editions, it has been admirably realized. The book is published by Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall and Co., of London.

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*The Imperial Gazetteer of India.*

THE concluding three volumes of this magnificent work were published during the present quarter, and it would be a grave omission on our part to neglect to notice the fact, because *The Imperial Gazetteer* (published by Trübner and Co.) received a very full notice in a former number of this review. The last volumes, including a general index in the fourteenth volume, are marked by the same



excellence that characterised their predecessors, and Sir William Hunter has now placed the seal to the great literary achievement which will be permanently associated with his name. *Finis coronat opus.*

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*British Prestige in the East.*

ALTHOUGH we do not share the apprehensions of the writer of this book ["The Decline of British Prestige in the East," by SELIM FARIS. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.)], we think that he has done good work in making this effort to stimulate English interest in the Eastern Question, and to raise the note of warning that, despite our self-confidence and complacency, the prestige of England does not stand so high as it did in the estimation of Orientals, and of Mahomedans in particular. We are quite sure that if this opinion is held it is based on an error, for this country was never so strong or formidable as it is to-day, and we are not certain if the Effendi accurately represents the views of Eastern society. Nevertheless a perusal of his book must do the English reader good. It throws some light on the Egyptian question, which has been complicated by the initial blunders of Turkey and France, and by our neglect to profit by those blunders, and perhaps most of all by fresh blunders of our own. There is much in the volume about the sentiments of Mahomedans which will provide material for grave reflection not unmingled with anxiety.

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*Indian Life and Work.*

THAT large section of readers who have never visited India will greatly appreciate this volume in which Mr. Wilkins tells them things not to be found in more ambitious and larger works ["Daily Life and Work in India,"

by W. J. WILKINS. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.)] A readable account at moderate length of the daily life and work of the peoples of India was distinctly a book that was much wanted, and no one is more capable of supplying it than Mr. Wilkins, whose experience of the country was gained as a missionary. Mr. Wilkins has already proved his sympathy with the Hindoos in an account of Modern Hindooism, and there is nothing in this work that can shock the feelings of any native of India, while it contains much that will afford him pleasure. Its chief value is, of course, as a useful *vade mecum* to the reader who has no Indian experience, but who is interested in the inhabitants of Hindostan from their ancient and varied history, and their close association with ourselves.

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*Tiger Shooting in India.*

UNDER the title of "Tiger Shooting in the Doon and Ulwar" (Chapman and Hall.), Colonel Fife Cookson narrates his experiences in pursuit of big game in two different districts of India sixteen years ago. The districts referred to are, first, the Doon region between the Jumna and the Ganges, and skirted by the Siwalix range of hills, and, secondly, the Native State of Ulwar in Rajputana—both affording admirable ground for the sportsman, although, owing to the prevalence of game, it is rare to come across a man-eating tiger. Colonel Fife Cookson was not fortunate enough to meet with any of those remarkable adventures which fall to less veracious chroniclers of sport, and the absence of the sensational, while it makes a dullish book, increases our belief in the faithfulness of the picture drawn by the author of the conditions of sport in Indian jungles. It must be admitted that on one occasion Colonel Cookson and a companion bagged three fine tigers at once in the same jungle, and this success would amply compensate for much previous disappointment. Still if regard

be paid to the whole experiences of these two hunting trips we are not sure that the author has made out so clearly as he believes that tiger chasing is superior to fox-hunting, even in the element of danger.

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*The Lord's Lay.*

THIS is a translation from the Sanscrit of the Bhagavad Gita, or "The Lord's Lay," made by Mr. Mohini M. Chatterji, M.A., for the benefit of those in search of spiritual light (Trübner and Co.). The Bhagavad Gita is the collected essence of all the Vedas, and it represents the Word of God for the Hindu peoples of India. Mr. Chatterji must be complimented on his great spirit in an undertaking to place a translation of this work before the English reader, who will admit the breadth of view displayed in the Introduction, at the same time that he will find abundant evidence in the work itself to prove that Truth and Religion have always had a common basis, and are virtually the same under different names and at all times.

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\* \* *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*

ED. A. Q. R.

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THE FINANCES OF INDIA.

THE administration of the Indian finances is a topic in which Englishmen, naturally and rightly, feel a deep concern. In the first place, financial prosperity is a practical test of administrative success which there is no gain-saying. Many of the great concerns with which the government of India is occupied do not admit of being thus rigidly tried by a definite standard. The views which present themselves to different minds as to the ultimate moral and economical results of British rule to the population of the country will vary according to the convictions, taste, idiosyncrasy of each individual. There are those, for instance, who question whether the work of the English in India has added to the sum of human happiness, who regard its present with regret and its future with anxiety. The disturbance of time-honoured customs, the displacement of old-world types of life, the irruption of European ideas into primitive communities, which had, somehow or other, weathered the tempests of a thousand years—the undermining of venerable creeds, which for centuries had guided the spiritual aspirations and shaped the morals of mankind—the diffusion of secular education and materialism—the

harsh inroad of economic science into a condition of society which, by its own laws, was preserving, at any rate, some sort of equilibrium—all these phases of modern India give rise, in a certain order of temperaments, to nothing but repugnance, melancholy, and apprehension. To others, the task of the British rulers of India presents itself in the light of the successful rescue of a considerable fraction of the human race from a chaos of suffering and oppression, enormous physical catastrophes, untold horrors of famine, flood, and pestilence, the rapine of the invader, the scourge of the despot. The English found India—so runs the joyous creed of this class of thinkers—weltering in blood, prostrate under the blows of successive conquerors, with whom conquest meant nothing but spoil for the victor, misery or death for the vanquished: we have raised her from her prostrate helplessness, and protected her efficiently from external spoliation and domestic lawlessness, enriched her with all the latest appliances of civilization, and entitled her to rank among the most powerful and prosperous communities in the world. A grand and beneficent work has been wisely designed and nobly carried out.

Which view is right? Opinions differ and will continue to differ, and the ordinary spectator, with no taste for the philosophy of statecraft and no leisure for elaborate examination of facts, looks on in despairing bewilderment at the strangely contrasting pictures of the same scene which are presented to his view. But with finance we get a standard which, so far as it goes, all accept as decisive. The melancholy and the sanguine statesman, the mourner over the past, the enthusiast for the future, alike regard the balance sheet as a main criterion of success. If a nation is paying its way and putting by something against the day of trouble, its position, whatever may be its other drawbacks, has one great element of soundness; further developments in the ornamental and non-essential branches of administration may be expected in time. The solvent government can afford to wait. The essential condition of safety has

been secured. On the other hand, no amount of benevolent intentions, high moral aims, or virtuous projects will save a nation from ruin and its rulers from disgrace if philanthropy is allowed to ignore arithmetic, or, if, in the glamour of heroic enterprizes, her statesmen lose sight of the commonplace obligation of making both ends meet. Nothing—as a hundred Blue Books have taught us—can be more sincerely benevolent than the feelings of the Indian Government towards its subjects. Practical Englishmen are willing to take its benevolence for granted, but are none the less anxious to be certain that its finance is judicious and its solvency assured.

The truth is that financial failure would be tantamount to an admission of defeat. It would mean that the great task, which the Government of India has for the last fifty years proposed to itself, must be abandoned as impracticable, and some humbler project be entertained. That task is to levy an amount of taxation so small as neither to crush the almost universal poverty of the nation nor to discourage enterprize, and with the resources thus provided to defend the empire against all comers from without and all breakers of the peace within—to maintain order and tranquillity among a huge congeries of nations, tribes, and creeds, whose rival interests and conflicting tastes are for ever on the eve of explosion—to make effectual provision against the periodical famines which desolate the country, and for this purpose to carry through a vast scheme of public works, railways, and canals, by which alone any substantial alleviation can be obtained—to secure a pure and competent administration of justice—to detect and punish crime, to develop trade, to extend education to high and low, to prevent disease by sanitary improvement, and to relieve it by hospitals and asylums, and generally to carry out, so far as the difference of circumstances allows, among the 250 millions of the Queen's subjects in India, the various administrative improvements which experience has shown to be feasible in England. This daring and unprecedented undertaking has

been long in hand, and for many years past the responsible rulers of India have admitted more and more unreservedly their obligations with reference to it. But its successful achievement hitherto does not necessarily prove its practicability for the future. The object of the following pages is to ascertain how far it may reasonably be believed to be practicable, and to point out the grounds on which such a belief must rest.

It would be bootless to carry our survey of Indian finance to a period anterior to the Mutiny. That event of itself gave birth to a new epoch of finance. The assumption of sovereignty by the Crown, which was its immediate result, materially altered the conditions under which the administration was carried on, and the responsibilities which sovereign authority involved. It may, however, be worth while to observe that there is good reason to believe that the taxation levied by former dynasties was, beyond all comparison, more onerous than that which the British Government now collects. Careful calculations have shown that Akbar, at the close of the sixteenth century, ruling over a much smaller area than that of the present British Raj, enjoyed a revenue from all sources, of forty-two millions sterling, of which sixteen or seventeen millions were contributed by land revenue.\* His successors extended the Moghul dominion and raised its revenues, Jehangir to fifty millions sterling and Aurunzebe to something between seventy-seven and eighty millions. The British Government raised about the same revenue in 1886; but of this a great portion was derived from other sources than taxation. Nine millions were contributed by opium, and were paid by the Chinese consumer: two millions were earned by the Post Office, Telegraph, and Mint; fourteen and a quarter millions by railways; one and a half million by canals; the receipts of other departments, civil and military, were over four and a half millions. The land revenue, twenty-two and a half

\* Sir H. Maine's Essay in Mr. T. H. Ward's "Reign of Queen Victoria," vol. i. p. 489.

millions, collected for the whole empire, was only five millions more than Akbar received from Upper India alone, while 13,000 miles of railway and 27,000 miles of canals have added enormously to the taxable resources of the country. Such comparisons have but a limited value, because if the British Government were oppressive, it would be no justification of it to show that the Moghul yoke was still harder: but when sensational statements are made on the subject of the oppressed Indian taxpayer, it may be useful to remember that under the greatest of the Moghuls the burthen of taxation was, probably, three times as heavy as at present.\* The share of the produce, which, according to the Institutes of Menu, the ruler was entitled to receive, was one-twelfth in prosperous times, rising to one-sixth and even one-fourth in times of emergency. The gross value of the crops in India is now estimated to be between four and five hundred millions sterling. Of this the British Government takes one-twentieth or twenty-two and a half millions. Akbar, who claimed one-third of the produce as his right, would in similar circumstances have assessed his land revenue at 133 millions; and history tells us of rulers who exceeded even Akbar's ratio, and were not to be satisfied with less than a half.

The moderation of the British demand during the half-century preceding the Mutiny was not without its disadvantages. It was an epoch of campaigns; and the adjustment of revenue and expenditure was such that each successive campaign produced a serious deficit, most inadequately recouped by the surpluses of peaceful times. In the years 1814 to 1820 the Nepal and Mahratta Wars accounted for a series of deficits; in 1824-1826 the first Burmese War and the siege of Bhurtpore produced a like result. In 1838 another period of campaigns commenced, which lasted till 1848, comprising the struggles with Afghanistan, Scinde, and Gwalior, and the first and second Sikh Wars. Every year showed an excess of expenditure

\* Sir W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer*, iv. 344.



over income. In 1853 began another series of deficits, which culminated in the Mutiny, which added nearly forty millions to the national indebtedness. The general position, apart from the acute crisis of the Mutiny, was found to be essentially unsound. The eminent English financier, to whom the conduct of the Indian Exchequer was, at the close of the Mutiny, entrusted, fully recognized the seriousness of the malady and the necessity of stringent remedial measures. Mr. Wilson at once imposed an income tax of 4½d. in the pound on incomes between £20 and £50, and 9½d. on all larger incomes. Customs duties were levied at a general rate of 10 per cent. on imports and 3 per cent. on exports; special duties, however, were levied on large and important classes of goods, ranging as high as 20 per cent.\* It was speedily discovered, as the hour of panic passed, that imposts so severe were producing their natural results, and, in the interests of the exchequer, if for no other reason, must be reduced. In 1864 the general import rate was lowered to 7½ per cent. In 1867 the whole system of the tariff was changed; certain specified articles remained dutiable, all others being exempt. Export duties continued to be levied on specified classes of goods at rates which ranged between 3 and 4 per cent. In 1873 wheat was exempted from duty; in 1873 lac dye was exempted; in 1875 the general rate of import duties was lowered to 5 per cent., and cotton manufactures, oils, seeds, spices, and all grains except rice were exempted from export duty. Further relaxations took place in 1878, when twenty-nine classes of goods out of sixty-two were exempted; the internal customs on sugar were surrendered, at a cost to the Revenue of £155,000, the arrangements for the abolition of the great Customs Line, maintained for the sake of the salt duties, were pushed forward, and a step was taken toward the abolition of the import cotton duties by the exemption of certain coarse classes of piece goods. These reforms were carried still further in the following

\* Strachey's "Finance and Public Works of India," p. 33.

year. The Inland Customs Line, which stretched across the middle of India for more than 2,000 miles, and was guarded by a small army of 14,700 custodians, was swept away ; the exemption of the coarser classes of piece goods was made general, much to the indignation of alarmists, who considered that Indian manufactures would be none the worse for a little protection, and who enforced their objections by the circumstance that the loss by exchange was increasing at an alarming rate.

In 1882 Lord Ripon was able, as part of the fiscal concessions of that year, to abolish all that remained of the cotton duties and all other customs, with the exception of the import duties on beer and spirits, arms, ammunition, and salt, and the export duty on rice. The import duty on salt, one and a half millions, is necessarily adjusted to the price of the native article. The export duties on rice, as the trade in this article is practically a monopoly of Burmah and Bengal, fall, it is believed, more on the foreign consumer than on the producer. They are, however, on general grounds, to be deplored, and if ever the Indian monopoly is seriously threatened, will have to be abandoned. With these exceptions, and arms and ammunition, for the taxation of which special reasons, other than fiscal, exist, the Indian taxpayer, unless he be a consumer of alcoholic drinks, is entirely free from customs duties. As the Indian imports, excluding arms, ammunition and alcoholic drinks, are valued at more than fifty millions sterling, the value of this immunity to the general consumer is apparent.

The amount now collected under this head of revenue is about one and a quarter millions. Of this more than half is contributed by the export duties on rice. Of the balance, nearly £500,000 are derived from wine and spirits, and £22,000 from arms and ammunition. None of the import duties can be regarded, it is obvious, as in any degree affecting the poorer classes. They are paid mainly by Europeans, or by those classes of natives who have

a taste for European liquors and the means to indulge it.

The vicissitudes which have beset Mr. Wilson's other impost, the income tax, and the numerous changes of form which it has undergone, and the repeated endeavours of the Government to curtail or abolish it, attest, not so much its general inexpediency, as the superior power of the classes whom it affects to make themselves heard and felt at the expense of the great mass of the community. Almost every year since the tax began the Government has been driven to attempt some modification, with a view to mitigate the dislike with which the upper classes in India regard direct taxation. More than once it has been altogether abandoned; on several occasions it has, under the name of a licence tax, been confined to earnings as opposed to incomes. Experience has, however, invariably shown that the tax is as practically indispensable as it is theoretically just. A year or two ago, the Finance Minister found it necessary to enlarge its area and increase its incidence, with a view to meeting the troubles which were gathering thick round the Indian Exchequer. The defence of the measure was the unanswerable argument of necessity, as the justification of its previous abandonment had been the repugnance with which its contributories regard it, and the frauds and oppressions which are said to accompany its collection. The new impost fell with especial severity on European officials, whose home remittances were already grievously curtailed by the fall in exchange. The fact, none the less, remains that the monied classes in India contribute an inequitably small share towards meeting the expenses of the administration under which their wealth is earned and enjoyed in security. With the great impoverished mass of the population the income tax must be popular, for the simple reason that they have not to pay it; the well-to-do classes in India—and it is certain that these are, every year, assuming more considerable proportions—have still to learn that efficient government, peace,

order, good courts, police, and education, railways and canals—cannot be had for nothing, and that the classes which profit most by these advantages must contribute an equitable share towards the expenditure which they involve.

The amount now derivable from income tax amounts to about one and a half millions. It is the main contribution—with the exception of salt, the only compulsory contribution—of the well-to-do classes—those who earn wealth and those who enjoy it—to the expenses of the administration. Loud as have at times been the complaints against it, and constant as have been the efforts of the Government to comply with those complaints, there can be no doubt that, if an equitable adjustment of the burden of taxation between the different sections of the population be the object in view, it is grossly inadequate. One great anomaly in its incidence is that it spares the classes who derive their income from exportable produce, those, that is, which have benefited by the fall of exchange; while it falls with especial heaviness on the classes which have suffered most from that event, those, namely, whose circumstances compel them to defray gold obligations in England.

The Mutiny was followed by a great rebound in national prosperity. Military reductions, excellent harvests, and a general expansion of trade contributed to re-establish the endangered exchequer. Several substantial surpluses resulted. Prosperous, however, as were the Indian finances, the strain upon them was becoming constantly more intense. India was no longer a remote field for commercial enterprise, but an integral portion of the Queen's dominions, entitled to all that the administrative resources of her rulers could effect for her improvement. Railways, telegraphs, roads, and bridges were needed over the entire area of 800,000 square miles, which owned the British flag. Great irrigation schemes must be undertaken to protect the population from periodical famines; gaols, court-houses, barracks, in which European soldiers could live without

risk to life, all had to be constructed. Projects of sanitary reform had to be undertaken. In a word, to use Sir John Strachey's phrase, "the whole paraphernalia of a great civilized administration according to the modern notions of what that means, had to be provided." Hardly anything in these directions had as yet been effected ; but the obligation could no longer be ignored. No Government was ever beset with claims on its exchequer so infinite in variety, so difficult to repudiate, so impossible to concede. In 1866 and the following years the embarrassments of the Government were enhanced by a temporary stagnation of trade in connection with the great English commercial crisis, by a succession of bad harvests, by famines, which the Government now found itself bound to combat, and by a fall in the price of opium. Meanwhile the administration was yearly becoming more efficient, more exact, more widely reaching in its scope, and, consequently, more costly. It became obvious that a change of system was essential if the great work of improvement was to be carried on with adequate completeness. Hence arose the great engineering project, popularly known by the title of "Productive Public Works," which forms so conspicuous and striking a characteristic of the Indian Administration. In 1865 a proposal was made by Colonel (now General) R. Strachey to lay out twenty millions on canals within the ensuing decade, to borrow the necessary funds, and to defray the interest from ordinary revenue till such time as the earnings of each project should suffice to cover not only the cost of its maintenance, but the interest on the capital outlay involved. The proposal was novel and audacious, but it was, fortunately, in the hands of men to whom novelty and audacity were familiar and congenial conditions in the tasks which they were called to undertake. The project was cordially adopted by the Government, was gradually elaborated and extended to railway construction, and in 1875 a regular forecast was drawn up, providing for an annual outlay of four millions of borrowed capital, the

interest on which, as well as the cost of maintenance, was, so far as the earnings of the projects failed to cover it, to be defrayed from the ordinary revenue. A speculation on the part of the Government on so enormous a scale, and in a domain so little covered by experience, naturally excited anxiety; and the fall in the value of silver, by adding to the cost of paying the interest on capital borrowed in England, has at times impeded the prosecution of the scheme, and now somewhat mars the completeness of its success. In 1876 it was held advisable, in view of the depreciation of silver, to limit the annual borrowings for this purpose to two and a half millions, a sum which, it was believed, might be raised in India without recourse to the English markets. Wars and famines have at times pressed heavily on the resources of the Government, but expenditure on the productive works has been steadily maintained; not even the serious embarrassments of the last three years have deterred the Government from prosecuting with unabated vigour a scheme which each year's experience has more conclusively shown to be sound in design and closely bound up with the prosperity of the empire.

At the close of 1886 the capital outlay of the Government on State Railways was 113 millions. There is, besides this, a large amount of capital invested in Indian railways, for interest on which the Government is responsible, though it has not been borrowed by itself. This is the capital of the Guaranteed Companies, the arrangement being, generally, that the Government guarantees a settled rate of interest on all sanctioned expenditure, shares all earnings above the guaranteed rate, and has the right of purchase at the expiration of specified periods. About sixty millions have been thus laid out. The guaranteed interest in the early days of the scheme fell far short of the guaranteed rate, and the deficiency has been made good from revenue to the extent of about twenty-six millions. On the other hand, the Government has already become the owner of several highly-remunerative lines and will

eventually acquire the whole railway system of the country, a piece of national property, the value and importance of which it is difficult to over-rate. The combined results of the various undertakings may be summarized as follows:— At the beginning of the year 1887 there were about 13,400 miles of railway open; the capital expenditure, including five millions spent by Native States, had been £178,500,000. 88,500,000 passengers and 19,500,000 tons of goods were carried during 1886. The gross earnings were £18,500,000; the net earnings £9,750,000, or 5·75 per cent. on the sanctioned capital outlay. Such a result, considering that many of the lines are still in their infancy, is highly satisfactory. Unfortunately, as regards the finances of the Government, the cost of defraying the interest in England was in 1886 so heavy as to sweep away the margin of profit, and impose a charge upon its resources of about £1,500,000. The loss to railways by exchange was not far short of two millions. Against this must be set, by way of consolation, the advantages which have accrued to the general public, eighty-eight millions of whom have travelled, for whom nineteen millions of tons of goods have been carried, presumably for purposes of profit, and the fact that food can now be carried into almost every part of the country at rates which make it impossible that the starvation prices of former famine years will ever again be known in India.

On projects of irrigation twenty-four millions have been laid out under the Productive Public Works Scheme. The net earnings in 1886 were £806,000, less by £187,000 than the charge for interest. This charge is further enhanced by an outlay of £613,000 expended on minor works of irrigation, thus bringing the total charge under this head to £801,000. This sum must be regarded as contributed by the general taxpayer for the advantage of the landowner and his tenants, the only general advantage being the security afforded against famine in times of drought. The deficiency is supposed to be met by provincial local rates,

which fall on the landed classes ; but, in face of the fact of the enormous profits which in times of dearth accrue to the owners of irrigated land, it is doubtful whether they make at all an adequate return for the advantages they enjoy, and for the enhanced rents which, immediately on the construction of a canal, they exact from their tenants. As to the intrinsic worth of canals to the country, it is enough to say that the value of the produce of canal irrigated land in a single year of drought has, in more than one instance, been equivalent to the entire capital outlay on a canal, and that, taken in conjunction with railways, they have already rendered famines, in the sense in which the word was known in India, an impossibility.

By the Productive Public Works Scheme the Government provided satisfactorily for one great class of its duties. But the demand for additional expenditure in other directions has not been met, and it became obvious that some general economic reform was essential. In 1870 Lord Mayo initiated a great scheme of financial decentralization. The general object of this was that the Government of India should divest itself gradually of its powers of interference with the money matters of the provinces, and should entrust the Local Governments with various branches of expenditure and income for which they would be responsible, and out of which they would have to provide for any additional expenditure which they thought fit to incur. Up to this time the whole responsibility for controlling expenditure and showing a proper balance sheet had devolved upon the Government of India. Each Local Government asked for as much for its own purposes as it conceived it to be possible that the Supreme Government could be induced to concede. Each was anxious for expenditure in improving its own Province. All were indifferent to the necessities of the Government of India ; and more was to be had by bold begging than could be saved by rigid economy. The result was a great deal of friction and general extravagance. Lord Mayo began the experi-



ment in 1870, and it has since received important developments, in 1877, 1882, and 1887, until now the control of almost every provincial head of expenditure, and of many of the most important branches of revenue, is vested in the Local Governments. Thus, of the seventy-seven and a half millions of revenue shown in the Estimates for 1887, no less than twenty-one millions appear as Provincial and Local, while a corresponding division appears in the expenditure. Over this amount of revenue and expenditure the independence of the Local Governments is, within certain well-recognized limits, complete. The arrangements between the Supreme and Local Governments are now made for a period of five years. One important question in them is the ratio in which any increase of revenue which may accrue during that period shall be divided between the contracting parties. It would be manifestly impossible for the Government of India to renounce all claim to the natural increment of its revenues for so long a period ; on the other hand, to deprive the Local Governments of a substantial share in it would be to rob the system of half its value as a stimulus to economy. All increases in the main branches of revenue have, accordingly, been apportioned in such a manner as, while reserving for the Central Government such proportion of the increment as may serve to meet the corresponding growth of Imperial expenditure, may yet give the local administrators a vital interest in making the growth of income as large as possible. No doubts are entertained in any quarter of the enormous advantages which have accrued both to the Supreme and Local Exchequers from the provincialization of the finance. Economy such as no amount of supervision from a central bureau could secure, has been everywhere introduced : promising sources of revenue, which were previously allowed to pass neglected, have been fostered into importance : the friction which must always arise when one authority has the granting of funds and another the spending of them, has disappeared : a spirit of energy and exactness has everywhere been introduced ;

considerable gain has, on each occasion of a new contract, accrued to the Supreme Government; in other words, the Local Governments have found it possible, by better economy, or through the greater development of their resources, to spare, without crippling their own administration, a larger sum for Imperial requirements than had previously been exacted. On the last occasion of a new contract, at the commencement of 1887, the addition so made to Imperial annual revenue was about half a million sterling.

These measures have undoubtedly contributed greatly to the financial strength of the Government. In 1873, however, a new cause for anxiety appeared. Upper India was visited by a famine, the relief of which cost the Government nearly four millions in that and two and a quarter millions in the following year. There was no margin from which such expenditure could be met, and the result was a serious deficit. Lord Northbrook, who was then Viceroy, became convinced that famine relief ought for the future to be treated, not as an exceptional, but a periodically recurring cause of expenditure, and ought, in order to place the finances of the empire on a sound basis, to be provided for by the surplus of ordinary years. It was not enough that the revenue and expenditure should be in equilibrium. A normal surplus ought to be secured, and a fund thus established, on which the Government might draw when famine had to be dealt with. The necessity for such a precaution was soon to be exemplified with terrible distinctness. In 1875 the monsoon in Southern India was seriously deficient. The drought spread gradually to Upper India; a series of bad seasons commenced, and before the close of the year 1877 the Government was obliged to pay more than seven and a half millions in the relief of famished populations in one part of the empire or another. At the same time began that marked depreciation of silver which has since had such serious results on the Indian finances. What is known in the Indian accounts as "loss by exchange," in other words, the difference between the cost to the Government of its

sterling obligations at the current value of the rupee, and the cost, supposing the rupee were worth two shillings, sprang up from half a million in 1871 to two millions in 1876. In 1878 it had risen to three and a quarter millions.

The great famine over, systematic provision was made for meeting similar contingencies in future years. The Finance Minister, Sir John Strachey, determined, on a review of the famine expenditure of the preceding years, that the average outlay under this head could not safely be calculated at less than one and a half millions per annum. A margin of revenue over normal expenditure to this extent was to be secured. Further, the outgoings of a great empire are liable to various contingencies, which could scarcely on the most moderate computation be taken at less than half a million. It thus became necessary to establish a surplus in normal years of two millions. The funds for this purpose were to be supplied partly by economies in administration which the decentralization scheme had rendered possible, partly by a general increase of local taxation, partly by the normal growth of revenue.

The experience of the succeeding years tended to show that the financial expedients adopted by Lord Lytton and his Finance Minister were producing a larger margin of revenue over expenditure than the most prudential view of the position could necessitate. The year 1878 closed with a substantial surplus of two millions; the year 1879, the exceptional expenditure on the Afghan war excluded, with a surplus of three and a half millions; the year 1880, the same item being excluded, with a surplus of seven millions. When the war was ended Lord Ripon found himself in command of an overflowing treasury, and it became a serious question how much of this surplus could be safely abandoned, and in what ways the taxpayer could be best relieved. The year 1881 was the most successful financially that India has ever known. Notwithstanding a loss of three and a half millions by exchange and an expenditure of one and a half millions on war, Sir E. Baring was able to devote

one and a half millions to the express purposes of famine insurance—viz., the discharge of debt or the construction of protective works—and yet to show a surplus of two and a half millions. In the following year the taxpayer was relieved to the extent of nearly three millions, customs duties being surrendered to the extent of one and a quarter millions, the receipts from salt being diminished by one and a half millions; while local rates, paid by the landed interest in the North-Western Provinces, were remitted to the extent of £300,000. The liberality of these concessions has been sometimes condemned as profuse, and in the face of the events which have subsequently occurred, it is difficult not to regret that the sum thus gratuitously presented to the taxpayer is not still within the reach of the Government, especially when regard is had to the continuing fall of silver and to the large expenditure which Lord Dufferin, at the earnest instance of the military experts, has found it necessary to incur with a view to the adequate defence of our North-Western Frontier. Now, however, that it has become impossible to continue the boon to its full extent, it is satisfactory to reflect that a tangible amount of fifteen or sixteen millions is fructifying in the taxpayer's pocket which, but for these concessions, would have found its way to the Government coffers. The best apology for Lord Ripon's generosity is to be found in the reservations with which it was accompanied.

The enhancement of the Salt Duty was expressly indicated by Sir E. Baring as the natural and proper expedient if at any time the course of events should lead the Government to require additional resources.

"I have said," he observed, "that by reducing the Salt Duty the general financial position will be strengthened; we hope that we shall be able to retain the duty at 2 Rs. per maund, and we have at present no reason to suppose that we shall be unable to do so. By a return to the higher rate we should of course, to some extent at any rate, sacrifice the main object we have in view, viz., to afford some relief from taxation to the poorest classes. At the same time, I should observe that, if any unforeseen circumstance, such as a heavy fall in silver, takes place, and if at the

same time the reduction in the Salt Duty does not result in any considerable increase in the consumption of salt, it will be open to us to return temporarily to a higher rate. This is an expedient to which the Government would have recourse with great reluctance. I allude, however, to the probability of its adoption, for it is clear that, should an emergency arise of a nature to diminish our other sources of revenue or to increase our expenditure, we shall be in a better position to meet it if the Salt Duty is 2 Rs. per maund than if it were levied at a higher rate."

For several years it seemed as if the liberality of the concessions of 1882 were to be fully justified by the event. That year itself, notwithstanding the huge falling off in revenue, a special war expenditure, net, of £600,000 and a punctilious provision for famine insurance, showed a surplus of £675,000. The year 1883, similarly, resulted in a surplus of nearly two millions. The year 1884, though less prosperous than its predecessors, may be regarded, if certain accidental and exceptional items be put aside, as having complied adequately with the prescribed rule of devoting one and a half millions to famine insurance, and showing a surplus of half a million. But in 1885 things began to go seriously to the bad. The movements of Russia on the North-West Frontier made it necessary to expend two millions in mobilizing a force to operate in the direction of Candahar. The campaign in Burmah involved a further expenditure of £600,000. Famine insurance was, it is true, provided for with conscientious exactness, and half a million of revenue in addition was spent in railway construction; but, as the result of the year was a deficit of £2,800,000, the provision for this expenditure was really made out of the balances, and the true result of the year's transactions, was a deficit of £800,000. Directly the revenue of the Government ceased to exceed the expenditure, the famine insurance, *pro tanto*, ceased to exist. It has now entirely disappeared. For the following year, 1886, a new and less pretentious *régime* became essential. Expenditure under the head of famine insurance was reduced to less than half a million; railway construction from revenue was wholly abandoned. A bare

equilibrium was thus secured. In his recent statement the Finance Minister has given an impressive account of the misfortunes with which since that date the Indian Exchequer has had to contend. Taking the year 1884 as the last one of normal prosperity, Mr. Westland showed, by an analysis of the accounts, that the Indian Government had, at the commencement of the year 1887 to provide for an expenditure greater by four and three-quarter millions than that of the earlier year. The causes of the increase may be summarized as follows :

					£
Increase in army charges	...	...	...	...	980,000
Frontier military roads	...	...	...	...	200,000
Upper Burmah, net	...	...	...	...	1,780,000
Additional loss by exchange	...	...	...	...	1,790,000
					<u>4,750,000</u>

This additional expenditure the Government determined to meet by the following arrangements :

					£
Income tax	...	...	...	...	900,000
Improvements in revenue	...	...	...	...	960,000
Appropriation of famine insurance margin	...	...	...	...	1,450,000
Cessation of railway construction from revenue	...	...	...	...	260,000
Diminution of assignments to Provincial Governments	...	...	...	...	500,000
Absorption of prescribed surplus	—	...	...	...	500,000
Smaller economies	...	...	...	...	180,000
					<u>4,750,000</u>

The figures put in a striking light the extreme pressure which the course of events was occasioning to the finances of India. The serious fall in silver, the imperative necessity of strengthening the military defences of the empire, and protecting it from sudden panic expenditure such as that of 1885, and the expenditure involved in the occupation of a new province, had absorbed the whole of the normal growth of revenue, the whole of the margin provided for famine insurance, the whole of the prescribed surplus, had diverted half a million from the Provincial Governments' expenditure and a quarter of a million from railway expenditure, and further necessitated an increase of

taxation to the extent of nearly a million sterling. The gravity of the position was enhanced by the consideration that, beside the expenditure shown above, the Government was pledged to large outlay—a million on military railways on the frontier, and three-quarters of a million on harbour defences—none of which could be expected to be “productive” in the sense of bringing a direct money return, and the whole of which was being provided by borrowed funds. The position was grave in the extreme, and, though the Government, no doubt, acted judiciously in postponing the resort to fresh taxation to the very last moment, it was apparent that any one of many probable contingencies would render this unwelcome measure a matter of necessity. For the chances of war or famine, a further fall in Opium or Exchange, no provision had been made. Few weeks had elapsed after the publication of the Budget when it became apparent that the two latter items were likely to affect the balance more seriously than the framers of the estimate had expected. Exchange continued to fall, and the estimated cost of the home remittances has now to be taken at the rate of 16'9d. to the rupee instead of 17'5d., involving an additional expenditure of three-quarters of a million. The earnings of the railways, which, as they are largely influenced by the accidents of European and American harvests, it is always difficult to estimate with any approach to precision, fell short of expectation by £400,000. The price of opium drooped, injuriously affected by the increased difficulty thrown in the way of smuggling by the Chefoo Convention. A further loss of £300,000 was thus entailed. Altogether the position of the Government was worse at the close of the year by one and a half millions than the Estimates at the beginning, and as the Estimates had provided only a bare equilibrium, the whole of this unwelcome addition had either to be provided for by loan or raised by additional taxation.

There can be no doubt in any reasonable mind that Lord Dufferin's Government adopted the right and prudent

course when they resolved on the latter expedient. A portion of the year's expenditure, nearly two millions out of seventy-eight, may be regarded as "exceptional;" but, as one and three-quarter millions have already been transferred to loan on this account, and as the exceptional expenditure is likely, unhappily, to continue for several years, it is clear that it would have been the height of rashness to throw any further portion of it on posterity, and that the present generation is not bearing more than its equitable share in an outlay, which is mainly occasioned by its own misfortunes and mainly devoted to its own security. The recurrence to a higher rate of salt tax will, there is every reason to hope, occasion no practical hardship to the consumer; nor will it involve theoretical hardship, for the precise circumstances have occurred which Sir Evelyn Baring indicated as a sufficient justification of enhancement. The rupee has declined 3d. in value, the returns from opium have lessened by one and a quarter millions, since the date of his Budget. The sale of salt has not materially increased. As to the practical hardship, it has always to be remembered that, under the native dynasties, salt was a monopoly of Government, leased out to contractors, who had neither the means nor the inclination to bring it in large quantities and at a low price to the consumer: that the present system was introduced by the British Government, in every instance, as a substitute for various transit dues, trade taxes, monopolies, and other imposts, which were, the historian tells us, "so full of inequalities, anomalies, and complications that it would be in vain to inquire from what objection, or what abuses they were free": and that, with the railway facilities now available, it is perfectly certain that the supply of salt to the population at large, will, even with the present enhancement of the tax, be larger and cheaper than in any former generation. The statistics recently brought forward by the Inspector-General of Prisons in the North-West Provinces—where the gaol dietary had been most carefully considered, go far to demonstrate that the price of the



amount of salt necessary for a man's health is at present so infinitesimally small that there is no ground for supposing that a moderate addition to the wholesale cost of the article will produce results appreciable to the general consumer. A man, he says, can at present prices procure as much salt as is necessary for his health for 100 days at the cost of a pie, and, at the same outlay, enough for himself, his wife, and three children, for twenty days. The fact is that, in many parts of India, salt is not sold at all; a handful is given by the grain merchant to each customer, as part of his bargain. It is scarcely probable that such a custom will be materially affected by a slight enhancement of the original price of the article. Nor does the history of the tax, since the remissions of 1882, justify the belief that there is any very close connection between the original cost of the salt and the amount consumed. The figures show that, whereas for a series of years prior to 1882 the rate of increase was 2·7 per cent., the years since 1882 show an average increase of 2·9 per cent. The difference of rate between the two periods is, accordingly, only one-fifth per cent., and, when it is remembered that the years previously to 1882 were in several instances years of acute agricultural distress, and that the period since 1882 has been one of exceptional agricultural prosperity, and that each year has added largely to the facilities of railway carriage, it is obvious that the increase of consumption attributable to the remission has not been considerable. The same facts justify the hope that consumption will not now be reduced by the recurrence to a higher rate of duty, which on fiscal grounds has become essential. The import duty on petroleum, which has become a fashionable article of consumption in India—thirty-two million gallons were imported in 1886—will bring in a further small contribution of £100,000: new adjustments of taxation in Burmah, £100,000. With these additions, the financial position of the Government may be summarized as follows :—

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£		£
Previous Revenue ...	76,750,000	Previous Expenditure	76,750,000
• New Salt Duties ...	1,725,000	Burmah, net ... ..	1,780,000
Petroleum... ..	100,000	Frontier Roads... ..	200,000
Assessed Taxes and		Special Defences ...	750,000
Excise in Burmah	100,000		
			<hr/>
			78,920,000
		Revenue ... ..	78,675,000
			<hr/>
	<hr/>	Deficit ... ..	£245,000
	£78,675,000		<hr/>

This deficit of £245,000 is converted into a surplus of £505,000 by the simple expedient of transferring the three quarters of a million spent on special defences from the Revenue to the Capital account, a measure which the Secretary of State, having satisfied his conscience by making the item figure in the balance sheet, has permitted to be adopted. The Government will, accordingly, start the year with a small balance of less than half a million. Any further fall in silver or opium, any famine expenditure, any special military expenditure, may, any day, sweep it away and plunge the exchequer into still further depths.

This state of things is, it must be admitted, extremely serious. Nor is its practical gravity diminished by statistics such as those adduced by Sir John Gorst in the House of Commons in the recent discussion of Mr. S. Smith's amendment to the Address, with a view to showing that the present predicament of the Government has been brought about, not by carelessness, mismanagement, or profusion, but by causes which it was impossible either to foresee or obviate. One of the difficulties of the Government of India is that such large items, both of its revenue and expenditure, depend on considerations which are absolutely beyond its control. No precaution that it can take will ensure the due arrival or adequacy of the monsoon, or arrest the fall of silver, or keep up the price of opium in the Chinese market, or raise the price of wheat in England to a figure at which it pays to export it from India, or influence the mysterious councils of Russia in a pacific direction. Yet these are the main factors

which govern the Indian balance-sheet, and it is from a combined operation of several of them that the Government is now so hard beset. The sterling expenditure of 1887 in England exceeded that of 1881 by little over half a million, but the operation cost thirty millions of rupees more in the latter year than it did in the former. No human statesmanship could have divined the causes which made silver, after continuing for years 1881-1884 at an almost uniform rate, suddenly to make a serious drop in each of the next three succeeding years.\* It is a state of things which, as the Indian Finance Ministers have often complained, defies the resources of statesmanship, and reduces finance to the merest guess-work. No one seriously imagines that the Indian Government has been negligent, ill-judging, or profuse. If such an opinion were really entertained, the apologies offered by Mr. Westland and Sir John Gorst would satisfactorily dispel it. Mr. Westland, in viewing the expenditure of the decade 1875 to 1884, explained how little ground the apparent increase of thirteen and three-quarter millions, in the latter year as compared with the former, afforded for the charge of administrative extravagance. Half of the entire increase, seven millions, arose from the extension of the railway system, an investment which is enriching the country in every direction, and, but for the fall in exchange, would already be substantially remunerative. Of the remaining half, a large portion is accounted for by the extension of irrigation, post offices and telegraphs, by Famine Insurance, by payments to Native States in connection with the salt duties, while one and a quarter millions were added by the fall in exchange. Only as to two millions does Mr. Westland

\* AVERAGE RATE OF REMITTANCES.

1881	...	...	19'895	1885	...	...	18'254
1882	...	...	19'525	1886	...	...	17'441
1883	...	...	19'536	1887	...	...	16'900
1884	...	...	19'308				

STERLING EXPENDITURE.

1881	...	...	£14,043,000		1887	...	...	£14,632,000
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admit that there has been a voluntary increase of expenditure ; and, as to this, his defence is explicit. "We might," he says, "have refused to open new courts of justice where the increase of population or of business required it. We might have refused to increase police expenditure, which is still, in the opinion of many authorities, dangerously low, and run the risk of breeding insecurity to life and property. We might have stopped the increase of schools, hospitals, and roads ; we might have shut our eyes to events in Central Asia, and refused the increases of political and military expenditure forced upon us by the approach of a great civilized Power on our north-west frontier ; in short, we might have refused to discharge the duties and responsibilities of a civilized Government, either with respect to our own subjects, or to the nations which lie beyond our frontier." This is a course which it is practically impossible for the Government of India to adopt, and the result is a continual pressure on its resources by claimants, whose pretensions are too obvious and well-founded to be ignored. To resist them to such an extent that the increase of expenditure shall not do more than keep pace with the growth of population, the extension of commerce, and the normal growth of revenue, is the utmost that can reasonably be demanded of the Indian Administration, or that, without any absolute repudiation of its most important functions, the Indian Administration can achieve. Nothing was more strikingly brought out in the severe scrutiny to which, by means of the Finance Committee of 1886, the Government submitted every branch of the administration, than the smallness of the margin in the expenditure of the Government which admits of further retrenchment. There is not now, it may be safely affirmed, a single post in the entire administrative system in India, which, by the wildest abuse of language, can be described as a sinecure. On the other hand, there are numerous offices where, considering the arduous and responsible character of the duties, the pay is inadequate ; and others, where nothing but the exceptional industry and

ability of individual officials makes it possible for an insufficient staff to cope with an ever-increasing amount of business. The same result was exemplified in another way by the Under-Secretary of State, in his reply, in February last, to Mr. S. Smith's motion. Starting with the fact that the last thirteen years had resulted in a deficit of eight millions, Sir John Gorst showed that during the period the Government had spent fifteen and a half millions on campaigns, eight and a half millions in famine relief, four and a quarter millions in the construction of "Protective" works, which will either obviate famine altogether, or enormously reduce the cost of its relief; six and a half millions more in the construction, from revenue, of railways which, though not recognized as strictly "protective," will contribute largely to the same result; three and a half millions in the reduction of debt; a million in protecting the north-west frontier from aggression; a million more in finance operations, which will have the effect of permanently reducing the interest charge of future years. But for this "extraordinary" expenditure of forty millions, the result of the thirteen years would have been a surplus of nearly thirty-two millions; while, if to this be added the sum which represents the cost to the Indian Government of the fall in exchange since 1875, viz., twenty-three and a half millions, we arrive at the imposing hypothetical surplus of fifty-five millions. Calculations such as these may be, in one sense, consolatory, and are, no doubt, a sufficient reply to ill-instructed enthusiasts who charge the Indian Government with extravagance or inhumanity; but they do not diminish the essential gravity of the position, or enable us to ignore the painful truth that, as matters stand, the Government has been driven to abandon its policy of laying up something against a rainy—or, rather, a rainless—day, to re-impose a considerable portion of the remissions of 1882, to revert to a general system of direct taxation, and, even with all these expedients, has, at the present moment, the greatest possible difficulty in paying its way.

Are there then no gleams of hope in this darkly-clouded horizon? Are there no quarters to which the Indian Government can look in the quest of relief? Are there no good grounds for the confidence and hopefulness which Indian financiers exhibit in the face of such serious discouragements? To such inquiries the first and most obvious answer is that much of the present embarrassment of its exchequer is due to the extreme conscientiousness with which the Indian Administration persists in meeting each year's expenditure from its income, and in refusing to relieve itself of temporary embarrassment by adding to the national indebtedness. Despite all the exceptional troubles of the last thirteen years—including several expensive campaigns, the costly annexation of a warlike province, and a famine such as had not been experienced in India for a century, the interest on the ordinary or non-productive portion of the national debt is less by £417,000 in 1887 than it was in 1875. On the other hand, the gross charge for the productive portion of the debt has increased by three and a third millions, but the success of the railways and canals has been such that, although the railway charges are now increased by one and a half millions through the fall in exchange, the net improvement in the combined charge for railways and canals is £393,000. The improvement in the charge for the whole national indebtedness, ordinary and productive, is thus more than three-quarters of a million. The interest-charge for ordinary debt will, in another year, be still further reduced by the conversion of a part of the debt, an operation already successfully carried through. Of the productive portion of the debt, nothing can be more absolutely certain than that, as the various works attain maturity, their earnings will be far more than sufficient to defray their interest charge, however heavily it may be weighted by exchange; and that they will ultimately prove as important in contributing to the resources of the exchequer as they are now in developing the resources of the country, and protecting the popula-

tion from famine. In other words, by far the larger portion of the Indian national debt consists of investments in projects which are, every year, adding enormously to the national wealth, and which, though still at a very early stage of development, and despite the fall in exchange, are steadily nearing the point at which their net earnings will more than cover the interest on the capital outlay they have involved.

One result of this characteristic of the National Debt is that the Indian Government is able to show a statement of assets and liabilities, which, were it a trading firm (which, by the way, to a large extent it is), would satisfy the most punctilious critic as to its solvency. The following table, issued last summer by the Secretary of State, shows concisely the position of the Government at the commencement of the financial year 1887, the symbol £ representing pounds sterling, Rx. denoting the conventional pound of ten rupees :—

ASSETS.	In millions.	LIABILITIES.	In millions.
Railways Constructed by State ... ..	Rx.59.2	Debt in India ... ..	Rx.92.7
Railways Purchased ... ..	£45.2	England ... ..	£ 84.2
Irrigation Works ... ..	Rx.25.4	Railway Companies' Capital Deposited ... ..	£3.8
Loans to Native States and Municipalities ... ..	Rx.7.4	Other Obligations... ..	Rx.12.1
Cash Balances—India .. ..	Rx.13.0		
England .. ..	£5.2		
Total Assets, Rx. 104.9		Total Liabilities, Rx. 104.8	
and £ 50.4		and £ 88.0	

It will be apparent from the above statement that the Government of India has assets to show for all its rupee liabilities and for all its sterling liabilities except as to thirty-eight millions. But the statement of assets is obviously very incomplete. For one thing, it omits many important public works which have been constructed from revenue, for many years past, at an annual expenditure of four or five millions. "There are," says Mr. Biggs in his able and

instructive essay on the subject,\* “the public buildings all over India, the salt mines, the opium factories and stock, the stores of the various departments—civil, public, military, and marine—the steamers, the dockyards, the mints and stock, the reserved forests, Coopers’ Hill, and the India Office. . . . India has, in reality, no debt whatever. Her assets far exceed her liabilities, and her balance-sheet is such as is possessed by no other country, it is the most favourable in the world.”

With regard, however, to existing pressure, what must be the next expedient for the Government to put itself in funds? Lord Ripon’s concession of the salt tax has been resumed; no more can be obtained in that direction: but there is another portion of the remissions of that year which might, and probably will, be utilized without grievance to any one, viz., the local tax, £300,000, which was remitted to the landowners of the North-Western Provinces. There is little doubt, I believe, that this concession was made under a misapprehension of the real facts of the case, and that, while it has failed to carry out the intention of the Government in relieving the peasantry of that Province, it was, from the attendant circumstances, regarded with dissatisfaction by its actual recipients, the landowners. If it be still possible to rectify the mistake, the result would be, probably, immaterial to the ryots, agreeable to the zemindars, and highly convenient to the Indian Exchequer.

Of the re-imposition of customs duties it is unnecessary to say more than that the stage of distress, at which so desperate a remedy could be even seriously discussed, is not at present within measurable distance. All the arguments which recommended the abolition of customs to the Indian Government are as applicable as ever, and have gained additional cogency from the fact that the cotton manufactures of India have in no way had the worst of it in their recent competition with England; and that Indian manufactures show symptoms of competing, at no distant date, very seriously

\* “The Grammar of Indian Finance,” by Hesketh Biggs, F.S.S.



with English, both in India and other Eastern countries. In the official account of Indian trade it is stated that between 1876 and 1885 the number of mills in India increased from fifty-one to eighty-six; and the value of cotton exports from India from three-quarters of a million to three and a half millions, the exports of the latter year being seventy-eight million pounds of yarn and fifty-one and a half million yards of piece goods. In the same period the Indian exports of yarn to China rose from six and a half million pounds to sixty-eight and a half million, while similar exports from the United Kingdom rose only from twelve and a half millions to twenty millions. In 1876 the exports of yarn from England to China were double those of India. In 1885 the Indian exports were considerably more than three times those of England. Such figures are of grave significance to the English manufacturer, and point to still further possible developments of the resources of India as a manufacturing and exporting country. It would be on every account undesirable to fetter a rapidly growing and thoroughly healthy commerce by fiscal charges, the effects of which it is impossible to predict, except that one effect would certainly be to provoke the angry antagonism of the manufacturing interest in England.

The truth is that, large as appears the aggregate of the Indian revenues, the area of taxation, and, consequently, the proportion of its income which the Government can influence, is extremely small. Of the ninety millions which the English Chancellor of the Exchequer has at his disposal, seventy-five millions, or five-sixths, are derived from taxes, and fifteen millions only from non-tax sources, such as the Post-office and Telegraphs. But of the seventy-six millions, which formed the revenue of the Indian Government in 1886, no less than fifty-six millions, or eleven-fifteenths, were derived from non-tax sources, and only twenty millions, or four-fifteenths, from taxation proper. One of the main sources of income, moreover—the land

revenue—is everywhere in India settled at specified rates for prolonged periods, and in Bengal it has the amazing characteristic that, however great may be the increase of the landowner's wealth, and however dire the necessity of the Government, no increase to it to the end of time can, as the law now stands, be demanded. The Government, by this unfortunate abandonment of its immemorial and unquestioned rights, has lost a revenue not less certainly than eight or ten millions sterling—a sum which would suffice to meet all its present obligations and dispense with the salt duties altogether.

The question has sometimes been asked whether a compact, so inherently inequitable as the Permanent Settlement, can be maintained, under the altered conditions of succeeding times, without modification. A certain expenditure being, in existing circumstances, indispensable, it must be paid by some class or other: and no historical justification can get rid of the essential injustice of an arrangement by which those who benefit most by the administration should contribute least to its cost. There are landlords in Bengal with a rent-roll of several hundred thousand pounds, who, when they have paid the fraction due to the State as land revenue, go practically scot free from all other taxation. Under them is a vast mass of the poorest possible tenantry, on whose already heavily burthened shoulders the recent enhancement of the salt tax falls. At present we may hope that the effects of the new taxation will be scarcely appreciable; but, should the demands on the Indian Treasury continue to increase, the Government can scarcely, in its capacity of trustee for the entire community, escape the obligation of calling upon its richest subjects to assist it in meeting charges, which did not exist and were never contemplated when it entered on its improvident compact with the Bengal zemindars. An agreement by the ruling power with a particular class that it shall never, for all time to come, contribute more than a specified sum towards the common expenses of the State, is one

which,—leaving aside the question of its essential invalidity—requires to be construed with a reasonable regard to the new conditions which the lapse of years may bring; and the just compunctions which the Government must feel in disturbing a long settled arrangement cannot be allowed to entail consequences which would be disastrous to the great mass of the community.

Among the few possible economies of which the administration in India admits, the suppression of the Governorships of Madras and Bombay occupies a foremost place. One obvious argument in favour of this measure is that the great Province of Bengal, which greatly exceeds either of the Presidencies of Madras or Bombay in area, number of villages, and population,\* is satisfactorily governed by a Lieutenant-Governor. No Province in India has ever been more admirably administered than Bengal under its civilian Lieutenant-Governor, the late Sir Ashley Eden. On the other hand, it is no discourtesy to the various eminent politicians who have ruled over the minor Presidencies to say that their position of quasi-independence has at times given rise to friction in the official machinery, has impeded the speedy despatch of business and delayed the introduction of desirable reforms; while their unfamiliarity with the details of administration has led occasionally to regrettable miscarriage. On one critical occasion, indeed, the Government of India was compelled to remove the conduct of a great department from the Governor of a Province, so little satisfied did it feel with the manner in which a serious emergency was being met. The independence of the Governors is now a thing of the past: they are subject to precisely the same control as Lieutenant-Governors; they cannot even correspond with the Secretary of State without submitting copies of their letters to the Government of

		Area in Sq. Miles.		Villages.		Population.
*						
Madras	...	139,900	...	52,000	...	38,868,000
Bombay and Sindh	...	124,192	...	24,600	...	16,489,000
Bengal	...	150,588	...	248,700	...	66,691,000

India. Their one distinction is that they cost more money and keep up more state. As they would be replaced by the flower of the Civil Service, no detriment to the Administration need be anticipated, while a material boon would be conferred on the more distinguished civilians, who now witness the mortifying spectacle of the best prizes of the Service being conferred on men who have no previous knowledge of, and no special aptitude for, the business which they have given the best years of their lives to understanding. The economy of the change would not in itself be great, but it would probably conduce to further economies.

Attention is always directed to the Home Charges, when financial retrenchment is in question. They form a serious portion of the Government expenditure, about fourteen and a half millions sterling, or, at present rates, more than two hundred millions of rupees. No investigation by an independent authority has been made of this branch of the Indian expenditure, and it would be rash, accordingly, to hazard an opinion as to the possibility of retrenchment. It is certain, however, that many large items of this amount could not be retrenched. Five and a half millions, for instance, costing, with exchange, seventy-three millions of rupees, are paid as interest on the Railway Account; two and a half millions sterling, costing thirty-six millions of rupees, on account of the ordinary debt; one and a quarter millions sterling for stores, which are purchased with every precaution for cheapness. The half million which goes in furlough allowances, the £1,891,000 and £1,511,000 that are paid, respectively, for non-effective military and civil charges, represent either a portion of the pay of officials—who are certainly not, on the whole, overhandsomely paid, and who, in many instances, have subscribed throughout their career for the pension in which it ends—or vigorous measures of economy, which have involved the dismissal of officials in the midst of their career. The sums of £138,000 paid for salaries of the India Office

establishment, of £6,300 for the Auditors' Department, and £25,000 for the Store Department, appear, at first sight, high, and may possibly admit of curtailment without detriment to the efficiency of the Office; but as to this no outsider can do more than conjecture. As to the Home military effective charges, the opinion has been frequently expressed by competent authority that an unfair burthen is thrown on the Indian Finances.\* "The Government of India," says Sir John Strachey, "has never concealed its opinion that, in apportioning the charges which have to be shared by the two countries, and when the interests of both English and Indian taxpayers are at stake, India has received but a scant measure of justice. This feeling has been increased by the knowledge that this is a matter in which India is helpless. It is a fact, the gravity of which can scarcely be exaggerated, that the Indian revenues are liable to have great charges thrown upon them without the Government of India having any power of effectual remonstrance. The extension to India of numerous measures taken in England to improve the position of the officers and soldiers of the army was, no doubt, right and unavoidable, but the fact that heavy additional expenditure has thus been incurred in India gives her a special claim to expect that no efforts shall be spared to diminish charges which are unnecessary, or of which she bears too large a share." It is probable that, could this subject be investigated by an independent tribunal, substantial relief might be afforded. The British soldier in India is a terribly costly machine, and his costliness is ever on the increase. In India itself the most vigorous efforts at military economy have been made, as is evidenced by the fact, to which Sir John Gorst called attention, that, notwithstanding that the necessary additions to the military strength of the Empire involved an expenditure in 1886 of more than a million, the net increase of military expenditure was only £465,000, showing reverse retrenchments in other directions. Large

\* "Finances and Public Works of India," p. 50.

economies of a structural character have of late years been carried through. Sir W. Plowden, in the late debate, called attention to the fact that the Military Commission of 1879 had suggested reforms which would result in a saving of one and a quarter millions; and inquired why these had not been carried out. The answer is that the suggestions tending to economy have, in every instance, been carefully considered and to a large extent carried out; and that those of the Commission's recommendations which were, on general grounds, disallowed by the Secretary of State, did not point in the direction of economy. The present Commander-in-chief in India was a member of the Commission, and is known to be a zealous and uncompromising reformer. He may be safely trusted to curtail all unnecessary expenditure. In the meanwhile the Indian authorities may reasonably demand that the burthen of the Home Expenditure may be submitted to an equally severe and conscientious scrutiny.

H. S. CUNNINGHAM.

## THE PROPOSED INQUIRY INTO INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

IN the good old days of the East India Company, an inquisitive and jealous Parliament used thoroughly to overhaul the administration of India every twenty years, on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter. The process of overhauling was doubtless an unpleasant one for those who were overhauled, so long as it lasted; but it is now generally agreed not only that it was good for the country and peoples of India at large, but also that it really strengthened the hands of the executive authorities, by reason of the confidence it inspired alike in the general purity of their motives and in the general wisdom of their actions, which in this way were at frequent intervals fully and publicly weighed in the balances and not found wanting.

Thirty years have now elapsed since the terrible events of the great mutiny destroyed the old form of government in India, and resulted in the transfer of the administration from the Company to the Crown. During the whole of this long period there has been no such overhauling as that of which I have spoken. On the contrary, the tendency has distinctly been, year by year, for the British Parliament to grow more and more careless, and for Her Majesty's Government to grow more and more affectionate and tender, in such perfunctory review and criticism of the Indian administration as is still thought necessary to save appearances. Since Lord Beaconsfield's time, no attempt has been made to bring on the discussion of the Indian Budget—the yearly occasion when the solemn farce of this perfunctory examination is enacted—until the concluding

hours of the Session, when the toughest survivors in the House of Commons are going or gone. Last year, I am told (I was not present, for illness had driven me into the country), a House was kept for the Indian Budget, in those weary September days, by the combined weight of the Government and Opposition Whips hanging on to the coat-tails of the seven or eight members who, with the members of the Ministry, suffice to make a quorum. The half-dozen gentlemen who spoke addressed empty benches, and in some cases had cabs waiting at the doors of the House piled with their baggage for the seaside or the Continent. And thus the Government reply was made to a solitude, and they called it peace.

I think it is idle to assert that this policy of reticence (to use a very mild term) has tended to increase the confidence, either of the British public, or of the Indian peoples, or of the civilized world at large, in the Indian Government.

Take the British public. I do not think much of what the "political Jeremiahs"—as Sir Richard Temple somewhat severely dubbed Mr. Samuel Smith the other day—say about the iniquities of the English, and the sufferings of the poor natives, in India. Everybody, I fancy, discounts these Lamentations pretty heavily. They emanate chiefly from ultra-Radicals, who look upon every Government much as Mr. Cunningham-Graham's friends look upon a policeman—as an institution not to be reformed except by the breaking of gas-pipes on the skull or the prodding of oyster-knives in the back. The British public does not care much for these fanatics. It is more tolerant of the "philanthropic pessimists"; but it is quite aware that their hobbies are mere Rosinantes, and that they ride them to attack the windmills of their own imagination. But outside these two classes, there is a number (and I fear an increasing number) of intelligent persons who have a shrewd suspicion that it is not for nothing that the Government gives so little encouragement to independent investigation



of Indian affairs, that Indian official reports are so unintelligible, and Indian official accounts so misleading.

So in India. I care not two straws what the political agitators say: they are in hope that fortune may send them a Governor from whose indolence or timidity they may wring a C.S.I. or a snug appointment as Deputy-Magistrate. But I do care very much for what I am afraid a great many worthy and loyal Indian gentlemen of position and repute are saying, that it becomes more and more impossible to get any hearing for a reasonable and moderate complaint. And I do care for what I fear a great many of the English in India, officials (especially in the military and the so-called "Uncovenanted" Departments), as well as non-officials, are saying, that "kissing goes by favour," and that the little governing clique get things all their own way both at Simla and at the India Office.

Now, for my own part, I do most entirely believe, and am perfectly certain, that the more real and thorough and far-reaching the proposed inquiry is made, the more clear will it become that the general purity of the motives, and the general wisdom of the actions, of our administration in India, are as much above suspicion as they ever were. I think that some abuses will be found to have sprung up in the course of years of almost irresponsible government; and these will be ruthlessly swept away. I have no doubt that many grievances will be found really to demand redress; and these will, I hope, be attended to. But I am quite certain that neither abuses nor grievances will be found either so numerous or so grave as is very commonly suspected by many not extreme people. And I am equally certain that the Government of India will gain both in prestige and in strength.

But there must be no suspicion of jugglery or of a design to suppress evidence or to influence the verdict—*that* would make matters far worse than before. And the object of this paper is to show that nothing short of a Royal Commission, sitting publicly in the great centres of Indian popu-

lation, and accepting all proper and reasonable evidence that may be tendered, whether from Indians or from Europeans, without fear or favour, will satisfy public opinion either in this country or in India.

I should like to remark, *en passant*, that I spoke in the House of Commons in this sense in the recent debate on Mr. Samuel Smith's amendment on the Address, and have since been accused (by a valued Anglo-Indian friend in the House, himself a member of that body which I have ventured to term in no offensive sense, "the governing clique"), of making a Radical speech. I altogether demur to this. To my mind, Conservatism is the policy that, in order to conserve and improve all that is best and noblest in our institutions, is the sworn foe of every abuse and every oppression, and the champion of full, free, and fearless inquiry. And my view is supported by recent Indian history. Of all Viceroys and all Secretaries of State for India within my memory of Indian affairs, the most popular with all classes in India, Native and European, official and non-official, have been Lord Mayo and Lord Randolph Churchill. Both of these were Tories; both were distinguished as exponents of a policy of inquiry and reform. In my opinion, any Tory Government that shrinks from and seeks to avoid a full and public inquiry, belies all the best traditions of the modern Tory party. But that is by the way.

Since Lord Randolph left the India Office—too soon for the interests of India—both parties have had a spell of power there. When Mr. Gladstone's Government came in on the Home Rule ticket, they naturally felt themselves committed to Lord Randolph's liberal policy, to a certain extent. But the old Adam in them was too strong to permit them to give that policy fair play. The result was amusing. Lord Kimberley in the Peers and Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth in the Commons, announced that a Joint Committee of both Houses would inquire into the affairs of India!—to sit in the dim religious light of one of the West-

minster committee rooms, far-removed from the profanation of the public gaze, and to consist mainly of officials reviewing with kindly eyes their own past achievements! By the way, when I stated this fact the other day in the House of Commons, in terms that I thought were mildness itself, Sir Ughtred was quite indignant, and declared that his Committee contained many members who had never been officials. Well, I will just enumerate his Committee, and from memory put their offices opposite the names where I can remember them (some of those unnoted may possibly have held office):—

Duke of Buckingham	. Governor of Madras.
Duke of Norfolk . . .	. Earl Marshal.
Marquis of Ripon . . .	. Viceroy of India.
Earl of Derby . . .	. Indian Secretary.
Earl Cowper . . .	. Minister.
Earl Cadogan . . .	. Minister.
Earl of Kimberley . . .	. Indian Secretary.
Earl of Northbrook . . .	. Viceroy of India.
Earl of Lytton . . .	. Viceroy of India.
Earl of Iddesleigh . . .	. Indian Secretary.
Viscount Cranbrook . . .	. Indian Secretary.
Lord Harris . . .	. Indian Under-Secretary.
Earl of Elgin . . .	. Son of Viceroy.
Lord Napier . . .	. Governor of Madras.
Lord Revelstoke . . .	. Minister.
Lord Hobhouse . . .	. Member of Council.
Lord George Hamilton . . .	. Indian Under-Secretary.
Mr. Stafford Howard . . .	. Indian Under-Secretary.
Mr. Goschen . . .	. Minister.
Mr. Wodehouse . . .	. Secretary to Indian Secretary.
Sir R. Temple . . .	. Governor of Bombay.
Sir L. Pelly . . .	. Indian Political Service.
Sir G. Campbell . . .	. Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.
Mr. MacIver . . .	. Madras Civil Service.
Mr. Maclean . . .	. Chairman of Bombay Municipality.
Mr. Ashton.	
Mr. Dillon.	
Mr. Hunter.	
Mr. Leatham.	
Mr. O'Kelly.	

Now, here is a Committee of thirty members. Of these, seven may perhaps be non-officials—including Lord Elgin, who is the son of an Indian Viceroy, and Mr. Maclean.

But looking at the long list of ex-Viceroy, ex-Secretaries of State, ex-Governors, and so forth, I am quite willing to leave it to the public to judge between Sir Ughtred and myself as to whether the proposed Committee was "mainly official" or not.

Throughout the session of 1886 I blocked the proposal of Mr. Gladstone's Government to nominate this Committee, by an amendment to the effect "that no inquiry would be either adequate in itself, or satisfactory to the peoples of India, that did not provide for a public investigation on the spot by an independent authority, so as to give due hearing to native public opinion." My objection did not then, and does not now, indicate or imply any, even the remotest, suspicion of distrust of the very eminent officials named. Many are personal friends in whom I have the most perfect confidence, and there is not one for whose judgment and integrity I have not the highest respect. But it is absolutely impossible to doubt for one moment that the people of India would have regarded this Committee as one more added to the many shams that are deemed "good enough" for India. And what, to speak quite frankly, would have been the value of the evidence that would have been laid before this Committee? The official view would, of course, be strongly represented and admirably expounded. But this would be bringing coals to Newcastle, even where the official view is (as it often is) founded on full knowledge and good sense, and not merely circumlocution, red-tape, and "how not to do it." Then there would be a sprinkling of "political Jeremiahs," whose woes would perhaps find an echo in the inevitable minority-reports of Mr. Hunter and his friends, but would not otherwise contribute largely to any practical good purpose. But how about the Native evidence? This would be absolutely confined to a few young students—of whose courage and enterprise in coming to this country I would speak with the utmost respect, but who cannot possibly bring much experience or personal knowledge to the discussion. It cannot

be denied that, notwithstanding the recent revolt in India against many old-world prejudices, it is still the fact that nearly all that is most worthy and reputable in Indian society does not, and cannot, come to Europe. The Native evidence, then, offered to such a Committee would be practically *nil*. And what would be the moral value of an inquiry into the affairs of India from which Native evidence would be absolutely excluded by the very conditions imposed on the inquiry by the Government? The answer surely is self-evident; and I am confident that the Government, imposing such conditions, would be very generally suspected of a desire and an intention to make the whole thing illusory.

If the case for the Government were less overwhelmingly strong than I believe it to be, I could understand the virtuous horror of an iconoclastic Commission professed by some very wise and very worthy people. We are told, for instance, that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the Viceroy, and undermine the authority of the Government of India. Why? The Crown is not likely to nominate to such a Royal Commission any but persons with some sense of responsibility and some knowledge of affairs; and such men might surely be trusted to check any evidence that might be obviously frivolous or injurious to the public interests, which alone could act in the way suggested.

That a Commission of the kind advocated by me might be in some respects iconoclastic I entirely admit. And a very good thing, too, in my humble opinion. For instance, if its members were neither abnormally weak nor abnormally stupid, it would make short work of the ridiculous and obsolete pretensions to a monopoly of all official virtues and all official prizes on the part of the Covenanted Civil Service. These pretensions are indeed repudiated and ridiculed by all the best men in the Service itself; but they survive in full force at Simla and at the India Office, and are in practice very generally regarded as the laws of the

Medes and Persians, and acted upon by the powers that be. Let me give an example. Only a few days ago I was talking to a very estimable Indian civilian, very conventional, very orthodox, the sort of man certain sooner or later to get into the Council of the Secretary of State. We were speaking of a common friend, whom I will call X—unquestionably one of the ablest men at present in India, the successful head of a vast Department, and an Uncovenanted civilian. "What a pity," said my friend, "that X is not in the Service; if he had been, his next step would have been to a Lieutenant-Governorship, or at least a Chief-Commissionership." "Well, but," I humbly observed, "the Lieutenant-Governorships are of course reserved by law for the Covenanted Service, but the Chief-Commissionerships are not. Surely Lord Dufferin is strong enough to send X to the Central Provinces or to Assam if he thinks him good enough for it?" "Oh, that would be impossible," replied my friend with perfect *naïveté* and honesty, "you see he couldn't put him in a position where he would have civilians under him as Commissioners or Deputy-Commissioners." "Oh, couldn't he?" I politely said, and the subject dropped. But if I had been as frank as my friend, I should have said "Fudge." Now that, as it seems to me, is exactly the kind of bladder which a really independent and honest Commission would mercilessly prick—to the no small gain of India, and not by any means to the hurt of the Civil Service or the Government of India. The monopoly of the Covenanted civilians has grown to be a mischievous anachronism, maintained only because a few of the craftsmen have continually shouted, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," and have captured the machinery of the India Office and the Government of India.

I have spoken so far of the sham inquiry proposed by Mr. Gladstone's Government. As a good Conservative and a loyal supporter in general of the present Government, I am bound in fairness to add that the Conservatives have been, on the whole, since Lord Randolph left the India

Office, rather worse than their opponents. We now hear no more of *any* inquiry—not even of the sham! In reply to my anxious inquiries in the House of Commons regarding some undoubted and undisputed hardship inflicted on two Uncovenanted Inspectors of Schools (Baboos Radhika Prasanna Mukerjea and Brahma Mohan Mallick) in Bengal—who had been subjected to a pecuniary penalty on being promoted for specially distinguished conduct—I was informed by the present Government that the matter had been referred to the Public Service Committee in India! Now, when it is remembered that that Committee had been howled at by the whole Press of India as the incarnation of officialdom, the answer could hardly be regarded as satisfactory. Again, when I asked about the treatment of the Native State of Mohrbhanj in Orissa—where, it was alleged, during the minority of the young chief, the Native ruling family has been harshly set aside in favour of an English stranger—the India Office knew nothing whatever about the matter! Cases like this might surely have suggested the need of some overhauling.

During the thirty years of the rule of the Crown in India, abuses have grown up and accumulated, and grievances have multiplied, until there is not a corner of the administration that can be said to be free from one or the other. Now, I assert that one may refuse to be blind to these obvious and undeniable facts, may admit that their existence is discreditable to British rule in India, and altogether prejudicial to good government, and may demand honest reform, without in the least making oneself the mouthpiece of all, or, indeed, of any, of these charges. For instance, with reference to the charges about the Mohrbhanj State, referred to above, I have no means of knowing how far they are true or false, from personal knowledge: but all the more is Government bound to give the utmost facilities for a public inquiry into such allegations. It is positively notorious that all our relations with the Native States are continually, directly, and openly impugned.

Pessimist newspapers in India, like *The Indian Mirror* and *The Statesman*, literally teem with accusations which ought never to be allowed to be made without being challenged—for they are read at Hyderabad and the other places affected, and are there regarded as an indelible stigma on the British name. The remedy is not to be found in sporadic or vindictive libel-actions, but in thorough publicity, and frank and honourable investigation.

In regard to most portions of our administration, the hostile charges seriously damaging to the Government are not even confined to the pessimist newspapers. Take for instance the Home Charges—those terrible millions that are yearly sent home for the cost of the India Office, for stores, for troops, for interest on debt, and so forth, and that yearly set at naught the calculations of the Finance Department. In a recent meeting of the Viceregal Council, the Hon. Mr. Evans, the distinguished leader of the Calcutta Bar and the chief of the Independent or non-Official members of the Council, appears from the telegrams to have pointed out most flagrant extravagance, if not corruption, in these charges, especially in the expenditure on those stores which have grown most rapidly under our short-service military system. Is not this, in itself, a sufficient ground for demanding an honest inquiry? On the subject of these charges, the leading journal of India, *The Englishman*, of Calcutta, is as severe as the most extreme of the pessimists; and even *The Pioneer*, the avowed organ of the Simla bureaucracy, sometimes takes up its parable against them. Consider, for instance, what *The Englishman* writes of the London charges for the Director-General of Indo-European Telegraphs, a gentleman who seems to be the darling of the Secretary of State's Council:—

“There is really no reason in these days for the existence of such an office, and the wonder is that it was ever allowed to exist. How many persons in India know that the head-quarters of a purely Indian Department are fixed permanently in London, and that a considerable staff are employed there in assisting the Director-in-Chief to delay the publication of the annual report until it has lost all human interest? It ought to be enough to



procure the abolition of this anomaly to point to the fact that we have here the nominal head-quarters of a department separated by some five thousand miles from the actual head-quarters, which are in Karachi. All the Office work of the Department is done at Karachi, and the report is even drawn up there every year—the report which is afterwards sent home to the Director-in-Chief, to be returned to the Government of India at Simla, to be again sent to the Secretary of State in London, and finally to be sent out again to India to be immortalized in the pages of the official ‘Gazette.’ Anything more absurd it would be impossible to imagine; it is circumlocution run mad. And the system is productive of deplorable results. It is an injustice to the staff who are exposed to the rigour of a fierce climate in the Persian Gulf to keep a nest of drones in London on high pay. The pretext that an office requires to be maintained in London to see to the adjustment of accounts with the European companies is too flimsy to stand examination. But the fact is the whole organization of the Department stands sadly in need of remodelling. It is far too expensively managed, and will never be a commercial success till the higher staff is reformed on a strictly economical basis.”

Clearly, until these statements are challenged, the public is likely to believe them, and to conclude that the India Office is a heaven-on-earth for those who have powerful friends in the Council. On the other hand, amazing statements have been positively *thrust* on the public by Mr. William Tayler, late Commissioner of Patna, as to the shameful way in which (by reason of the enmity of a member of council) he has been denied for thirty long years even the ordinary English fair-play of a public hearing by the India Office of his case. These statements appear to have been strongly and even warmly corroborated by all the historians of the Mutiny and other undeniable authorities, and have never to my knowledge been controverted, or even noticed. It is impossible for a member of the public to sift these charges; but I think it is not conducive to good government that they should go unchallenged.

But if there is need for fearless independent inquiry into home charges and home administration, here under the very shadow of St. Stephen's, what is likely to be the case in India? I have glanced at the complaints which, in a thousand different forms, find expression in the Indian Press against our treatment of the Native States. This is,

perhaps, the department in regard to which such complaints are most rife, in which their existence is most injurious to Government, and in which a mere parliamentary inquiry in England would be utterly and ludicrously ineffectual, for the only possible evidence available would be that of the India Office and of the officials concerned. But there is not a single department of the Government against which complaints are not made; there is not a class or community in India, European or Native, official or non-official, that has not got its own special grievances that deserve examination.

I desire to make my paper an entirely impersonal one; and therefore I will not dwell on the question of the relations between the Government and the Press (English and vernacular), which constituted the special care of the office held by myself, the Press Commissionership, until it was abolished. I believe those relations to have degenerated into a condition little creditable to the Government, very galling to the Press as a whole, and agreeable only to a very small circle—within which, crumbs of official information are bartered in exchange for puffing and flattery. But there is one question that I think ought to be asked in this connection. One of the most important functions of the Press Commissioner was to keep the Viceroy and the Government of India informed, from day to day, of all serious complaints against the administration, and grievances generally, that were ventilated in the Press. Has there been, of late, any provision whatever for the performance of this very important duty? I doubt it very much. India has never had an abler, a more conscientious, or a more successful Viceroy than during the last three years—a most difficult and critical period in her history. There has never been a time when the head of the State could more confidently challenge the fullest inquiry, as far as his own acts are concerned; the more the facts are investigated, the greater will be the public admiration for the marvellous tact and patience that has soothed and

quieted a world of animosities and resentments. Lord Dufferin is the last man in the world—and it is only due to His Excellency's high character and great abilities to put this prominently forward—to allow his Government to sit down quietly under such imputations as those which are nowadays commonly made by the Indian Press, without boldly and publicly challenging the statements. But it is quite possible for the Viceroy and the Government of India to be kept in a fool's paradise now that the Press Commissionership is gone. India, as viewed in the serene or gay seclusion of the Himalayas through the rose-tinted spectacles of the ever-amiable *Pioneer*, is a country chiefly remarkable for the ridiculous happiness of the people, produced by the extraordinary virtues, extreme modesty, and superhuman abilities and industry, of the Simla Secretariats.

I have no doubt there are some very good officials to whom it would be a positive shock if they were told bluntly that the whole system of the Simla exodus—with its huge travelling expenses swelling out the nominal receipts of the railways, its annual dislocation of the public business for weeks at a time, its inflated allowances, its hundreds of shivering Native clerks and servants sacrificed for the comfort of a few, its tons of unnecessary correspondence, and above all, its isolation from all wholesome public opinion—is a gigantic scandal. Yet this is undoubtedly the opinion of many of the people of India, English as well as Native. Simla will defy any mere Parliamentary inquiry; but the first Royal Commission that goes to India will report that it is doing immense harm to our character and our influence.

I have spoken of the sham that is known as the Parliamentary debate on the Indian Budget. The blissful unreality of that discussion has apparently of late years stirred Simla to emulate it. Formerly the Budget was submitted to debate in the Legislative Council, and though that Council is still a nominated one with an overwhelming

official majority, it usually contains some independent members like Mr. Evans or the Maharajah of Darbhanga, whose criticisms are both honest and to the point. So, for some years past, the Budget has been published in the *Gazette*, in lieu of being publicly debated!

And yet, it would be difficult to conceive of a subject more controverted than Indian finance. By far the ablest and most experienced exponent of what I venture to term the official view, is Sir Richard Temple; and he admitted the other day from his place in Parliament that, at the very time when Government is imposing fresh taxation, there is still room for retrenchment in expenditure! Why, then, is not this retrenchment carried out first? "Oh," say the officials, "we have done what we can; we appointed a committee of officials (mainly), headed by an official financial genius, to make the round of the provincial Governments, and to report where retrenchment is possible." "Yes," reply the critics of the Indian Press, "and a precious mockery the Finance Committee was, with its reverence for the powers that be, and its petty cheese-parings—only to be matched by the equally official 'Public Service Committee,' of which no one in India outside Simla speaks without a smile." And what results, or at least what follows, from the labours of this Finance Committee, is the swallowing up of the Famine Insurance Fund, the starving of the railway policy of the Government, and the imposition of fresh taxation, at the very time when we have been rejoicing in long immunity from famines and a series of most bountiful harvests and general prosperity.

Another very important admission made by Sir Richard Temple in the same speech was to the effect that the Government of India would be justified in attempting some extension of representative institutions. Why, then, does not Government give some life and reality to our Legislative Councils? which a very moderate system of representation might convert into so many towers of strength for British rule. Whatever may be alleged of the failings of the class

to which we have imparted our English education, and Western training, it is abundantly clear that very many of its members are eminently qualified to do first-rate service to the State both in the making and in the administering of the laws. The demand of the educated Natives for election to the Legislative Councils, and for extended employment in the higher posts of the Civil Service, will never be satisfactorily dealt with by a mere official Committee, such as the Public Service Committee of last year—nor by a Parliamentary Committee that is out of reach of Native evidence.

And closely allied with this question are several others that greatly excite the community of educated Natives. They (or some of them) accuse the present Government of Bombay of a desire to maim the higher education of the country, so as to cut off the supply of troublesome applicants for office. The age of admission to the Civil Service, and, indeed, every detail connected with official employment, is hotly debated. Even such a matter as the sanitation of Calcutta is disputed over, while there seems to be no authority that commands the respect and confidence of both parties to the quarrel.

I have already given some illustrations of the utter uselessness of departmental or official Committees for the determination or solution of much-vexed questions in India. But probably the best example is that of Sir Ashley Eden's Army Committee. It was a particularly strong one, and was regarded as less packed or biased than most Committees of the kind. It cost a lot of money; it reported strongly in one particular direction; and—not one of its more important recommendations has been adopted! The report of the Public Service Committee is to be made public at once, probably before this article is in print; and it will be interesting to observe how many of its recommendations will be carried out by the Government. It may, I think, be confidently predicted that no real adjustment of the Public Service of India to the requirements and the conditions of

existing circumstances—so far as that adjustment will necessitate the amalgamation of the superior grades of the Uncovenanted departments with the Covenanted Civil Service, and the frank decision of all questions connected with the Statutory Civil Service—no real adjustment will be carried out until the subject has been investigated by a Royal Commission, or at least some local inquiry under Parliamentary sanctions and guarantees of independence.

I am only attempting in this paper to give samples of the complaints that are most freely made, and the grievances that are most widely felt, in India. Take a sample of the grievances of the Uncovenanted Civil Service. Their pensions, after a far longer service in India, and no furlough reckoned as service, are subject to a *maximum*, which in the most favourable circumstances is much less than *half* the ordinary or universal pension of the Covenanted Service! Seeing that the whole settlement of the business is absolutely in the hands of the latter Service, not modified in the smallest degree by the action of any public opinion of any kind—and that a most jealous trades-unionism rigorously excludes every Uncovenanted officer from any say in the matter—I suppose that the rules I have just quoted are not much worse than might be expected from average human nature. So long as the Covenanted Service retains absolute control of the machine, both at Simla and at the India Office, the principle of *Væ Victis* will doubtless be applied to other departments of the public service, until Parliament interferes. But far worse remains to be added. The pension rules were first codified in the old days when a rupee and two shillings were regarded as synonymous. The Uncovenanted pensions were expressed in rupees (I daresay the Covenanted pensions also were expressed in rupees, but covenanted rupees mean tenths of a pound), perhaps because in those old days few Uncovenanted officers belonged to the superior grades or were likely to take their pensions in England. When the rupee stood at 2s. 3d., it is not recorded that Uncovenanted pensions were paid at that rate

—probably they were paid at par. But now that the rupee is worth 1s. 4½d., not a farthing more does the Uncovenanted pensioner get. It is a positive fact that, owing to this paltry quibble, a pensioner who retired ten years ago on a pension of 2,000 rupees per annum, thinking that to be £200, a sum just sufficient for the requirements of himself and his family, has this year to starve on £135 per annum, and the pension will probably still further diminish in the future! Needless to say that the covenanted pension, being fixed by those who are to receive it, is in pounds sterling—and is at the rate of £1,000 a year. My readers who are new to the subject will now begin to perceive how extremely important it is, as we are assured by the India Office, that these matters should not be inquired into by profane outsiders. *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.* Mr. Henry Seymour King, M.P., observed the other day, at the first annual meeting of the Uncovenanted Civil Service Association in London, that no private employer, with a scrap of reputation to lose, would dare to treat his *employés* with the shameful dishonesty the Government of India shows in dealing with its Uncovenanted officers. In that opinion I entirely concur; and I trust that the day is past when the *sic volo sic jubeo* of a small and irresponsible body of officials can avail to prevent the full public investigation of these complaints.

Great, no doubt, is the potency of the official *vis inertiae*. It is a far cry from Calcutta to London, and Indian grievances are proverbially repulsive. But English society is rapidly becoming tolerant of the discussion of Indian affairs; the very respectable attendance of members in the House of Commons during the recent debate on Mr. Samuel Smith's amendment testifies to the growth of interest. The enterprize of *The Times* newspaper in putting before us every Monday morning a very full summary of current Indian history, has done more even than the telegraph and quick steamers to bring about this desirable result. Every year there is a larger and larger number of

intelligent and inquisitive English visitors to India, who come back to arouse the interest of their neighbours and friends in Indian affairs. Sir Richard Temple the other day chaffed Mr. Samuel Smith about his "winter's tale of a winter's tour," and it is unquestionably true that the travelling M.P. is very apt to bring home with him tales more sensational than true. But whatever may be the value of these "winter's tales"—and no doubt the value varies greatly, and is sometimes infinitesimal—their multiplication tends, with all the other circumstances of the day, to render impossible the old official policy of "a conspiracy of silence." For instance, Mr. Caine has visited Bombay, and will insist on putting forward very prominently the views very generally taken by the best portion of our Native fellow-subjects on our *abkari* policy generally, and especially on the alleged extension of the out-still system. Again, the outcry against the niggardliness of the Government in the matter of railway extension is so general that it is fairly certain to find voice in one or other of the Houses of Parliament. Why were the prospects of the Thibetan trade, and our prestige on the Thibetan frontier sacrificed in the Burmese negotiations with China? Why is the public money spent on experimental farms to enable those farms to compete with and crush the private enterprise of the planters? Why are the officers on the "general list" jockeyed, first out of their legitimate promotion, and secondly out of their legitimate pensions? Why is forest management so distasteful to large numbers of Natives, and "resumption" by the Forest Department regarded as a mere nickname for the wholesale confiscation of rights of common and turbary? Why are the executive officers of Government so commonly entrusted also with judicial functions? These and many scores of similar questions will continue to be forced on the attention of the Government. How much better, then, to meet them half-way, with a frank investigation. Many of them, doubtless, are founded on imperfect information—let Government, then,



show us the better way, but do not let it refuse altogether to explain. Such a refusal cannot be justified on the ground that some foolish people will ask why Lord Dufferin does not present the editor of *The Statesman* with Mr. Cordery's head on a charger, and questions of that kind—for a Royal Commission might surely be trusted with a certain amount of discretion as to the refusal of improper evidence.

There is, indeed, one point in regard to which the advocates of the full inquiry by Royal Commission would do well to listen to the advice of the official party. Sir Richard Temple, in his speech on the subject in the House of Commons, pointed out that if the scope of the inquiry were not strictly limited, it would last for years. Sir Richard suggested, as the topics pressing for investigation (1) the financial difficulty and how to diminish expenditure; (2) the Civil Service difficulty, and how to extend the employment of Natives, and (3) the extension of representative institutions. Several other heads would have to be added, even if the consideration of the home charges be included in the first, and all the Uncovenanted grievances (including especially that of the silver pension) be included in the second. There are most important and urgent questions to be settled in connection with our relations to Native States, the Press, settlement and land-tenure, the *abkari* system and the liquor traffic, the opium and salt administrations, education, railways, forestry, &c., &c.—all of which demand examination by a competent authority independent of the Government of India. Still, the principle of a strict and definite limitation of the scope of the inquiry should be accepted. But within those limits all evidence honestly and fairly tendered should be frankly examined and sifted. And it seems to me that a calm and impartial consideration of this question, "Whose evidence, and what kind of evidence, will be of most value in enabling us to decide justly and truly on these points?" will be quite sufficient to convince any unprejudiced person with any knowledge of the subject that a Parliamentary Committee would be futile, and that

a Royal Commission working in India will alone meet the absolute necessities of the case.

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ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

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P.S.—Since the above was written the Report of the Public Service Commission has been made public. That Commission consisted of eight Covenanted civilians, all of the highest rank (including no less than three heads of Provincial Governments, a Lieutenant-Governor and two Chief Commissioners—not to mention secretaries to Government and members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council), two High Court judges, and eight other gentlemen who are all (I have no doubt) most worthy and able personages, but who are most obviously utterly and hopelessly over-weighted by the ponderous array of official talent with which they are yoked. There was not a single representative of the great "special" departments, nor a single English-born Uncovenanted officer. Sir Alfred Croft, Sir Leppoc Cappel, and the large body of Uncovenanted officers who met last month in Calcutta, will certainly not be able to read this Report without a smile; for they will find that it is their appointments and their Departments, mainly, that are to be thrown out to the wolves. It is true that the Report recommends the abolition of the old offensive terms Covenanted and Uncovenanted. But in the next breath it recommends the establishment of a service to be called "Imperial"—practically identical with the Covenanted, after certain exchanges of appointments have been effected—on a closer and more exclusive footing than heretofore. All the Uncovenanted Departments, as a rule, are to be levelled *down* to a new Service, to be called "Provincial"—in regard to which the most important recommendation is that its conditions of pay, leave, pension, &c., are not to bear any relation whatever to the pay, leave, pensions, &c., of the heaven-born Imperial Civil Service. And these recommendations are the reply of Government to demands for Civil Service Reform!

R. L.

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## OUR RELATIONS WITH THE HIMALAYAN STATES.

THE disturbance in the small Himalayan state of Sikhim, whither it has been found necessary to despatch a military expedition, will not have been without its use if it serves to direct the serious attention of the Government of India and the people of this country to the unsatisfactory character of our relations with all the states on the Himalayan frontier, where the inroad of the Tibetans shows that invasion from the North is not the impossible undertaking that has been so generally supposed. The Tibetans are certainly far from formidable opponents, but still they have made their way through all the passes that separate the valleys of the Sanpu and the Ganges, and have reached the skirts of the vast and defenceless plain of Bengal. When we recollect that a great Chinese army crossed more difficult passes and nearly reached the same goal a hundred years ago, we are constrained to admit that the greatest natural barrier on land is, after all, like inferior obstacles of the same kind, no insuperable difficulty in the face of human energy and perseverance. The true safeguard of India in this direction is not the impracticability of the Himalayan passes, but the character of the inhospitable region and of the unwarlike and barbarous races lying beyond them.

— We have to consider what our relations are and have been with four states which are, properly speaking, within the natural system of Hindostan, but which in three instances are detached to some extent from the political fabric of the rest of that country by the intervention of the claims and pretensions of a foreign Power, viz., China. The four states to which I refer are Sikhim, Bhutan, Nepaul, and Cashmere,

and the three first are those which admit the ties of vassalage to China either directly, or indirectly through the spiritual chiefs of Tibet.

Although Sikhim is the smallest and least important of these states, it claims first consideration because the action of its Rajah, and of the party in Tibet which has incited him to defy the Indian Government, has brought the name before the general reader, and made him to some extent familiar with the dispute itself and its consequences. To it also is due the interest which leads to the opinion that an attempt to define our relations with the Himalayan states and to take a glance at the general situation on the Northern frontier of India may be acceptable at the present moment.

Sikhim is a small state of about 1,550 square miles, and the modest population of 7,000 persons, wedged in between Nepaul and Bhutan on the west and east, and between Tibet and Bengal on the north and south. The Rajah is of Tibetan race, deriving his origin from a "Lhasa family of just respectable extraction," according to the high authority of Sir Joseph Hooker, and the ties of blood have been kept up by the fact that the Rajah possesses lands and a house in the Tibetan valley of Chumbi, to which he has been in the habit of paying an annual visit. The reader will therefore easily understand how, with the sympathy of a common religion, the Tibetan lamas have been able to exert a more powerful influence over the Rajah than any which our most skilful and successful officials have been able to establish. Evidence of this is not now afforded for the first time. But it must be allowed that the excitement among the Tibetans at the Macaulay mission, whether simulated or real, has been followed by a marked accession of self-confidence and arrogance, not unnatural in a bigoted and ignorant priestly caste apprehensive of the consequences to itself of any change or innovation, which has urged them to lengths of defiance and hostility that could not be tolerated by the most peaceful Government. The Rajah might have purged his offence even so recently as January if he had repudiated

sympathy with the aggressive lamas, and promised to use his best endeavours to bring about the prompt withdrawal of the Tibetans at Lingtu. But he would or he could do nothing. The Tibetans enjoyed his sympathy, and their threats were more formidable to his mind than anything we could offer. Hence the despatch of the present expedition, which is to and will inflict chastisement on those Tibetans with whom for more than a hundred years we have vainly sought to establish friendly relations. With them as with other Orientals, the peaceful trader has had to be preceded by the soldier, and by the assertion of the principle of *force majeure*.

There may be difficulty in believing that the state of Sikhim, which has now adopted so decided a policy against us, was in a certain sense our own creation, and indeed owed to our active intervention alone deliverance from the Goorkhas of Nepaul. When the Goorkhas established themselves at Khatmandu they invaded Sikhim, and established their authority in its western province, and in 1814, on the occasion of their quarrel with us, they had formed a project for absorbing the whole of Sikhim, and were on the point of giving it effect when we intervened. Our intervention was probably due as much to a grateful recollection of what the Tumlong chief had done by way of friendly assistance at the time of the Bogle and Turner missions to Tibet, as to apprehension at the extension of Goorkha dominion in this particular direction. But whatever the motive, we wrested Sikhim from the Goorkhas, and added to the Rajah's territory the province of Morang, ceded in 1816.

Our relations with Sikhim began, therefore, in a way which, if gratitude were a force in politics, should have ensured their satisfactory character and continuance. But experience brought disappointment, and from the very beginning abundant cause of complaint was furnished by the frequent raids of the Rajah's subjects across the frontier to capture Bengalis for the purpose of selling them as slaves. This could not be tolerated; but in the first place the district of Darjeeling was purchased in 1835 from the Rajah,

who received in return a pension of £300 a year. By the removal of the Sikhim frontier to a further distance from the inhabited parts of Bengal it was hoped that the raids would cease ; but when the tea gardens sprang up round Darjeeling they became more frequent than before, as the coolies employed in them offered an irresistible temptation. The Rajah must have been rendered bold by impunity, for he went so far as to demand the restoration of any runaway slaves who escaped into British territory, and when he found that this was not likely to be granted, he seized two Englishmen, Sir Joseph Hooker and Dr. Campbell, who were botanizing in his state. This happened in 1849. The prisoners were released in a few weeks after the Rajah's pension had been stopped ; and when the pecuniary subsidy was restored, a permanent mark of our displeasure was left in the cession of a portion of the Sikhim terai.

Even this loss did not bring the Rajah to his senses, for during the next ten years kidnapping went on as freely as ever ; and at last, in 1860, the patience of the British Government again became exhausted, and a military expedition was sent into Sikhim. The chief town, Tumlong, was occupied by an armed force, and a new treaty signed in March, 1861. The Rajah dismissed the most pernicious and unfriendly of his advisers, and guaranteed the safety of travellers. This agreement was further confirmed in 1873 when the Rajah visited Darjeeling, and in the following year his visit was returned by an Anglo-Indian civilian, Mr. Edgar. The result of these negotiations was to ensure harmony for a period of fifteen years, and also the laying down of a good road to the Jelapla Pass, which is the lowest and easiest of those leading from Sikhim into the Chumbi Valley. It is also possible that the increase of the Rajah's pension to £1,200 (a sum greater than the revenue he receives from his own subjects) had much to do with his good behaviour, which only became uncertain after the withdrawal of the Macaulay mission in the autumn of 1886.

Without now going into the question of high policy

involved in the relations of England and China, there can be no hesitation in saying that the withdrawal of that mission encouraged the Tibetans to assume an offensive attitude, to send armed men into the Chumbi Valley, and even to cross the frontier into Sikkim. Although the Tibetans had revealed their hostility before the end of 1886, fifteen months have been allowed to pass, through a quite mistaken and sure-to-be-misunderstood regard for the susceptibilities of China, without their being brought to their senses. Had measures been promptly taken, a very few men would have sufficed, and the Pekin Government would never have heard more of the incident than that there had been a scuffle on the frontier. But now 1,500 troops and four guns have had to be despatched—and it is not certain that they will be enough for the task in hand—with the consequence that many Tibetans will be killed, and that Pekin opinion will receive a rude shock from the blows inflicted on the dependents of the Empire. This is the first consequence of the wobbling policy from the extreme on one hand of denying all China's pretensions, to that on the other of yielding her everything, and giving practical weight to sentimental claims.

What the expedition has in the first place, and with the greatest possible celerity, to accomplish, is to drive the Tibetans out of Lingtu and any other fort they may have occupied in Sikkim, and to bring about their retirement into the Chumbi Valley. There will then remain the question to be decided, Is the Chumbi Valley itself part of Sikkim or of Tibet? We now speak of Chumbi as forming part of Tibet, but I believe I am correct in saying that the Indian Foreign Department used to hold the view that after the agreement of 1873-4, Chumbi passed under our political influence. It will also be necessary to consider whether any durable relations of friendship can be maintained with the present Rajah, or indeed with any chief more in sympathy with the Tibetan lamas than with ourselves. We have already evidence that that sympathy is increased by

the closer association arising from the Rajah's annual visit to his residence in the Chumbi Valley.

At the same time we have no wish to annex this petty state of misty glens and insalubrious highlands, as would be the just punishment for the truculence of its ruler. So long as they do not become the centre of a hostile influence, we should be well content to leave them alone, and to allow the Ruler of Tumlong to amuse himself with ideas of independence. But what is true of Native Sikkim as a whole, is not true of the road made at our suggestion and with our money from Darjeeling *viâ* Damsang and Ranak to the Jelapla Pass. That road was intended as the route of a flourishing trade; the Tibetans wish to make it the means of marching into territory that does not belong to them, and of preventing all commercial intercourse. The only real remedy is for us to occupy this road, and to place a small garrison at the Indian outlet of the Jelapla. This can be done without any extensive diminution of the Rajah's territory or authority, still leaving him in possession of Tumlong. Nor should we have encroached upon Tibetan territory; the door would only have been closed to prevent their encroaching on ours. The possession of the Jelapla Pass is the key to the whole question, for it affords the best and easiest route from Bengal to Tibet, and once installed there we can patiently await the execution of those projects which the Chinese have promised to take in hand for the promotion of trade between India and Tibet.

With regard to the next of the Himalayan states a few brief remarks will suffice, partly because it is not of the first importance, and partly because the subject of our relations is not pressing at this moment. When the attention of Warren Hastings was first turned towards Tibet, it was in consequence of the acts of the people of Bhutan, who had invaded the district of Kuch Behar, and were only compelled to retreat by the employment of a British force. The Bhutanese owed to the intercession of the Teshu Lama the lenient terms imposed by the Governor-General,



who in return seized the opportunity to open communications with the mysterious country north of the Himalayas, and sent his envoys, Bogle and Turner, through Bhutan. In those days Bhutan was far more interesting to us than it is now. We thought that through its limits passed the best route to Lhasa. We know this to be incorrect, and our only concern about it is that its wild mountaineers should keep the peace and give us no grounds of offence.

After the campaign of 1772, our intercourse with Bhutan was very slight until the annexation of Assam in 1826, at the close of the first Burmese war, when we were brought into close contact with them on the subject of the possession of the passes between their territory and our new province. At first these were left in the hands of the Bhutanese,\* but on their frequently raiding into our territory, it was thought wiser to take the control of the passes out of their hands, and to pay them a small sum annually as compensation for any loss they might have incurred. Even the possession of the passes did not establish the tranquillity of the borders, and for thirty years complaints were constant on our side until, in 1863, the late Sir Ashley Eden was sent on a mission to the capital, only to return, after contemptuous and inhospitable treatment, with a treaty which had been obtained from him by force, and which the Government of India refused to ratify. The inevitable expedition then followed, and at the end of 1865 the Bhutan Government surrendered all the passes leading from their territory to either Assam or Bengal. On the other hand, we increased the annual allowance which forms the chief money revenue of the Deb and Dharm † rajahs. This arrangement has worked well up to the present, and our relations with the hill-men are as satisfactory as could reasonably be expected.

This tranquillity may of course prove illusory, and either a revival of marauding instinct or the encouragement of

\* They are also called Bhutias and Bhuteas.

† The temporal and spiritual chiefs of the state.

the Tibetans may be sufficient to induce the Bhutanese to revert to their old ways. Should such an event take place, it must be pointed out that the reasons which exist against the annexation of the whole of Sikhim are far from applying to Bhutan. From the little that we know of Bhutan we may still say that it is a country of remarkable promise, which would amply repay the care of a good administration, and it is possible that more careful survey and examination will show that many good routes exist through it down to the valley of the Sanpu. I am careful to show this distinction between Sikhim and Bhutan, because many of the seditious vernacular papers of India declare that the disturbance in Sikhim has been got up for the purpose of creating an excuse to annex it. It cannot be too openly stated that there is no temptation to annex Sikhim with just cause or without, but that if Bhutan were to transgress the laws of friendship and the letter of her stipulations, the case would be very different, and the strongest motives of policy and self-interest would counsel our incorporating that promising but ill-governed state with our dominions. As the occasion is not, so far as we can see, likely to arrive soon, a frank declaration of policy may silence some of the Bengali journals, which are quite mistaken about our present designs on Sikhim, where all we care to acquire is the command of the Jelapla Pass and the road into the Chumbi Valley.

When I come to consider the case of Nepaul we are treading on much more delicate ground; but unless expression is merely to be given to idle platitudes, the language used in describing our relations with that state and its connection with China must be frank. In the first place, Nepaul is in the position with regard to the Government of India of an absolutely independent kingdom. The best evidence of this independence is to be shown in the fact that alone among Indian states Nepaul has retained the right to declare war upon her neighbours other than those subject to the Indian Government. If, for instance,

the Khatmandu Durbar were to declare war on Tibet or China, it is quite certain that we should not interfere to prevent the Goorkhas doing whatever they thought fit. It would not be true to say as much of any other state in India. But while there is no room to gainsay the independence of Nepaul as regards the Government of India, it is also equally clear that Nepaul is dependent on China so far as the recognition of her suzerain rights implies dependence. The qualification must be inserted because in the same way it might be argued that the English Government in India is dependent on China with regard to Burmah. Still we have the undisputed fact that Nepaul, under the pressure of successful invasions by China and by England, conceded more to the former than she has done to the latter.

In order that the reader may understand the position it is necessary to briefly summarize the history of this Himalayan state in its connection with China and with our Government. It had political dealings with the Pekin Government before it came into serious contact with the East India Company, but we must be careful to distinguish between the historic and vaguely defined rights possessed by China in Burmah, and even Bhutan, and the far more recent if more precise position as suzerain enjoyed by her in Nepaul. A hundred years ago China had no rights whatever in Nepaul, and if the Goorkhas had not brought down upon themselves the punishment of the great emperor, Keen Lung, she never would have possessed any. China always recognized before the Goorkhas, led away by their military successes and the desire for plunder, invaded Tibet, that Nepaul was outside her empire and formed part of the Indian system. She only exacted the tribute as some guarantee of future good behaviour; and if a better guarantee can be found, the Chinese would be far more likely to surrender their rights for an equivalent in this instance than with regard to countries which have always been historically outside the bounds of India, and within those of the Celestial Empire. However inflexible the

Chinese will be on ancient rights, we may feel sure that they take a more practical view in those cases where their pretensions are due rather to some accidental circumstance than to the continuity of a fixed national policy.

After the Goorkhas under Prithi Narayan and his sons had established their supremacy in Nepaul, they were tempted, by the rumours of great treasure stored in the lamaseries of Tibet, to make raids into that country; and encouraged by success and the profitable results of putting the captured towns to ransom, they sent in 1790 a large army across the mountains in the hope of seizing Lhasa. They captured Shigatze the place of residence of the Teshu Lama, and would probably have succeeded in their larger undertaking had not the Chinese Emperor, whose resentment had been roused by their earlier raids, sent a large army of probably more than seventy thousand men to the rescue of his Tibetan subjects. The Goorkhas retreated at the approach of this force, but if they thought that the Chinese would not pursue them south of the passes they were mistaken, for Keen Lung's general carried the war into their country, gained several successes over their army, and finally crushed it at the great battle of Nayakot, within a short distance of Khatmandu. The Goorkhas had to accept the terms dictated by the conqueror, and these included the sending of tribute every five years. Sir William Hunter is in error in his "*Imperial Gazetteer*" when he says that "it does not appear that tribute was ever exacted." The tribute mission was sent from Khatmandu as recently as 1880 and 1886.

As they were then defined, so have the relations between Nepaul and China remained ever since. The quinquennial mission, although intermitted on several occasions partly from the civil war prevailing in China, and partly from Goorkha pique at the indifferent manner of its reception by the Chinese authorities, has been kept up to the present day, and even the truculent Jung Bahadur never felt strong enough to repudiate the treaty

of 1792. His war with Tibet in 1854 was marked by no military success, and was barren of result. The Tibetans suffered little, and the Chinese were not called upon to intervene. It therefore exercised no disturbing influence on the relations of Khatmandu and Pekin; and Goorkha ministers and commanders-in-chief have gone on offering their humble submission to the Chinese Emperor, and soliciting much coveted titles of honour at his hands.

The relations between our Government and the Nepaul authorities are far less clearly defined, and if we believe that the cordiality of feeling between Englishmen and Goorkhas more than atones for the shortcomings in our formal engagements towards each other, it does not remove the wish that they should be made more precise and more susceptible of adaptation to an unfavourable condition of things on the Himalayan frontier. They began in precisely the same manner as happened between China and Nepaul, viz., by an armed collision in 1768, although this was of trifling importance; and our real intercourse began thirty years later. An attempt was made in 1802 to maintain diplomatic relations, but after two years our representative was withdrawn; and in 1814 the Goorkhas, having established their own power in Nepaul, and being compelled by the prowess of the Chinese to admit that there was no hope of aggrandizement north of the Himalaya, encroached not only on Sikhim as described, but also to the west on Kumaon and the now protected Hill States. We were bound to check this movement, and a war ensued which, after two years, resulted in our success, and in the Goorkhas surrendering the territory they had seized. Nepaul was then reduced to its present dimensions, and a British officer was allowed to take up his residence at Khatmandu as representative of the Governor-General. Beyond this no mark of dependence was imposed on the defeated Goorkhas, who were treated as an independent people outside the natural limits of Hindostan. How far this forbearance on our part was due to the knowledge of the tie connecting

Nepaul and China, with the latter country of which it was then the particular desire of the East India Company to maintain peaceful relations, cannot be now ascertained with any degree of certainty. But it is known that the Chinese refused the Goorkha prayers for aid, and that the Goorkhas, after the war, solicited our mediation to prevent the Chinese inflicting fresh punishment on them, for which purpose an army had been collected on the Sanpu.

During the seventy years that have elapsed since the conclusion of peace, our relations with Nepaul have been amicable, but they have also been restricted in their dimensions by the Khatmandu Durbar adopting a policy towards ourselves of absolute caution and exclusion. Indeed, if it were not for Jung Bahadur's visit to England, and for the same chief's loyal support during the crisis of the Mutiny—an incident which must ever be remembered to the credit of the Government and people of Nepaul—our relations would have been to all intents and purposes nil; for the privilege of stationing an English officer in a place of close if honourable confinement at the Goorkha capital, with no opportunity of seeing either the country or the people, can scarcely be termed an advantage. Within the last few years—that is, since the last Palace plot in 1885, when the present minister, Bir Shumshir Jung, seized supreme power—the expectation has been officially held that an improvement might be looked for in our position with regard to Nepaul, and that one of the first signs of this would be in the placing of facilities in our way, instead of difficulties as hitherto, to obtain recruits for our Goorkha regiments. It is right to say that something has been done in this direction, and it may be Major Durand's agreeable experience to see all our hopes and wants realized during his stay at Khatmandu.

But a much more delicate and difficult matter is involved in the question how far are the dependent relations of Nepaul on China compatible with the political interests of India, and even in the long run with the maintenance

of friendly relations between England and China. There is no doubt the Chinese imposed in 1792 a tie on Nepal which, if that state had been subsequently conquered by us or the Sikhs, would *ipso facto* have been broken. It is inconceivable that men like Runjit Singh, or Lord Hastings, would have thought for an instant of recognizing any Chinese claims over territory south of the Himalayas. Nor if the Nepaulese Government were to-morrow to come to the decision that it would not pay tribute to China any more, and that while it would adhere to and observe all the requirements of good neighbourship, it would recognize no further pretensions on the part of China, can there be any doubt that in carrying out this decision it would have the opinion and support of the English Government and Indian peoples on its side. So far as is known, the Khatmandu Durbar does not cherish any such wish or plan; but the serious question remains whether we, in the permanent interests of the two empires, should not impress upon both that the nominal dependence of Nepal on Peking is an anachronism, and involves considerable risk of mischievous consequences if there were to be a recrudescence of Goorkha or Tibetan animosity—and that such a state of things is not impossible may be seen by a glance at what is happening in Sikhim. It is the duty of statesmanship to induce the Chinese Government to waive these irksome and valueless possessions in return for some tangible equivalent, thus removing causes of future umbrage, although it must be admitted that our policy in Burmah and our representations about Sikhim have both tended to increase the supposed value of these suzerain claims, and the reluctance of the Chinese to see them modified or abandoned.

The question concerning the fourth Himalayan state, Cashmere, depends to a great extent on different considerations from those which mainly affect the other three; although it must be remarked that if the Chinese were ever to become very strong in Kashgaria, they would certainly revive their

suzerain rights over the Ladakh province of the Maharajah of Jummoo. Our relations with Cashmere began in 1845, at the time of the first Sikh war, when by a separate treaty, signed at Umritsir, Gholab Singh obtained possession of that province on payment of three-quarters of a million. The Maharajah pays us tribute, and cannot go to war with his neighbours without our consent and permission. As he has an army of nearly 20,000 men and 100 guns, the temptation to encroach on weaker neighbours, whether towards Kafiristan or Tibet, is not inconsiderable, and an active-minded prince might find it difficult to resist it. From another point of view, the position of Cashmere, especially if the Maharajah's army were to be subjected to a more severe discipline than it has yet received, is of the highest possible strategical importance in the defence of India. It occupies the salient angle of the military system on the north-west of the peninsula, and if an enemy could gain possession of it, strength at Candahar or on the Suleiman would be valueless and thrown away. All the latest information as to the routes to it from Badakshan and the Pamir is very reassuring, but it would be folly to overlook the enormous temptation to a great general to make a dash on it despite Nature's obstacles, and to thus gain the rear of our main defences.

The Maharajah, some years ago, took with our sanction and fortified the small hill-fort of Gilgit, and more recently he has tightened his hold on the Nagar Valley and Hunza. He is also on fairly good terms, through the tact and efforts of our officers, with his neighbours in Chitral and Yassin. But although a line of railway to Jummoo has been surveyed and is, I believe, now in course of construction, nothing has been done to improve communications in the manner that is desirable. The army also remains in a state unfit for the serious duty which will fall to its lot whenever Russia takes up her position on the Upper Oxus. It is our duty to press on both these matters, and we might also take some more pains than we do in superintending the fortification of Gilgit and one or two other frontier posts.



It is of course unfortunate if the Maharajah's rule is as unpopular and harsh as is represented, but there is reason to believe that these reports are false, and at all events our counsels ought to alleviate its evils without greatly diminishing his authority; for, after all, what we want him to do is merely to help in constructing two or three railways, and to lay down roads. If he were to do this, a military occupation of Cashmere would only be necessary when the Russians had gained a position enabling them to cross the Hindoo Koosh without attracting notice.

These opinions are neither new to the world nor expressed for the first time by myself. That there is no insuperable difficulty in carrying out such plans may be judged by the offer just made by the Maharajah of Cashmere to place his army, his military stores, and the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, at our disposal for purposes of military defence. That co-operation alone would suffice to do everything that is necessary within the limits of Cashmere itself, and thus the weakest point on the Indian frontier would have been rendered secure against hostile attack by the voluntary gift and support of its own native ruler. Any reasons we may have to be dissatisfied with the *status quo* in Cashmere, apart from any unproven cases of administrative tyranny or injustice, are caused by military and strategic considerations. These are at once deprived of their force when the Maharajah comes forward to volunteer his share in bearing the expense and providing the material for the measures rendered necessary by the very changed condition of affairs in Central Asia. We have only one thing to do, and that is to accept his offer, and to exercise in his and our own interests a vigilant supervision over the schemes to which the resources of the Cashmere state may be devoted.

To sum up, we have in the first place to recognize the vulnerability of the northern or Himalayan frontier of India, and in the next place to admit the unsatisfactory condition of our relations with the cis-Himalayan states, in three cases

because of the intervention of a foreign Power, and in the fourth on account of our having no share in the military control of the state. In the last case, a fortunate accident promises to remove the disadvantage under which we have laboured ; but if we are to attain an equally gratifying solution in the other cases, it must be by a judicious and sustained diplomatic effort at Peking, where we have to offer some tangible equivalent, and also to prove that it is to the interest of China as well as of ourselves that all Celestial rights on Indian territory, *i.e.*, south of the Himalaya, should be abandoned. Difficult as the task is, it is not impossible, and the Chinese, once they perceive that we fully and frankly acknowledge the past validity of their suzerain pretensions, will not be unwilling to discuss a practicable plan for their future amortizement. We must at the same time increase our influence at Khatmandu, acquire possession of the Jelapla Pass, and convince the Tibetans that it is impossible for them to dream of increasing their influence south of the passes. The real crux is to be solved at Peking, where the desire is growing to convert Tibet into a province instead of a dependency. At the same time that China is allowed to make her authority more apparent on the Sanpu, we may reasonably ask that she shall resign the empty vestiges of empire she retains south of the Himalaya.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

## CONCERNING SOME LITTLE KNOWN TRAVELLERS IN THE EAST.

NO. I.—GEORGE STRACHAN.

I HAD intended to begin with Pietro Della Valle, whose name is widely enough diffused, but whose letters are I imagine really very little known to English readers. He alone might easily afford scope for an article of some extent and of considerable interest. But I have no space for him now, and he shall only serve to introduce another traveller more obscure, who has left no record of his own wanderings, and whose footsteps I have tracked piecemeal, only as the palæontologist makes out the intermittent traces of an extinct wader or batrachian upon the petrified mud of the eocene. But here for a space I must leave Pietro the noble Roman, to take up another thread.

The late Major William Yule, who died in Edinburgh in 1839, was a devoted lover of Persian and Arabic literature, and possessed a good collection of MSS. in those languages (now united to the stores of the British Museum Library), as well as of printed books in kindred sort. Among the latter was a copy of the Four Gospels in Arabic, printed at Rome in 1591, and embellished with a number of excellent woodcuts,\* the attraction of which made the book familiar to the present writer in childhood and youth. At the end of the book, written on each side of an arabesque tail-piece, was an inscription, brushed over with vermilion, some part of which dwelt in my memory for many years. But, after a long interval, the book is now

\* The book is one of the somewhat varied issues noticed by Brunet (ed. 1861, tom. ii. col. 1122). The woodcuts, he says, are by Lucas Pennis after Antonio Tempesta.

in my possession, and I transcribe the inscription as it lies before me :—

•	<i>Legit Georgius Strathanus Milniensis Scotus : diebus</i>	
	<i>viginti, horis succisivis : in desertis Chaldeæ ad</i>	
	<i>occidentem</i>	<i>Babilonis ad</i>
	<i>Moab</i>	<i>faiath in</i>
	<i>Regum Arabiūm</i>	<i>anno Chri 1696</i>
	<i>finivit die</i>	<i>19 : Januarij</i>
	<i>Summa Laus</i>	<i>Trinitati individue</i>

And below, these words :—

*Missionis*

*Xrinagarensis*

The leaf had been torn or worn on the left hand, shaving the first letters of *viginti* and *occidentem*, and passing through the first letters of *Regum* and *Summa*. Of anomalies in the inscription and their origin I shall speak by and by.

I had often, in the course of years, thought of this *Georgius Strathanus*, and wondered who he was, but never got beyond wondering, till, about the years 1869–72, during a long residence at Palermo, I became the owner and diligent (if discursive) reader of the book of P. della Valle.

In the course of that reading, not having for many a year seen the Arabic book and its inscription, I came one day, to my delight, upon these words, occurring in a letter of the traveller's from Bagdad, dated 10th and 23d December, 1616 (see vol. i. p. 362, in *ed. pub.* by Gancia at Brighton, 1843) :—

“Voglio dir finalmente che vive oggi appresso dell' emir FEIAD un nostro franco, gentiluomo, di nazione SCOTO, cattolico, chiamato il Signor GIORGIO STRACANO, uomo di rispetto e litterato —.”

Here was surely the author of the inscription so long wondered after in vain ! \*

\* I sent at the time a notice of my discovery to *Notes and Queries* (see ser. iv., vol. v. pp. 59 *seq.*) That notice contains a curious illustration of the tricks of memory. I had then not seen the Arabic Gospel for a great many years, but I gave the beginning of the inscription with the utmost confidence as memory printed it before me, and as follows : “*Hunc legit librum xx diebus in desertis Chaldeæ Georgius Strachanus* E SOC ; JESU M—ensis Scotus” —and remarked (with reference to Della Valle's account) :

But the date I did not correctly remember—its first two figures I knew were 16—, and the other two I fancied were early enough in the century to suit (as they needs must), this friend of Pietro della Valle.

Some years later the old book was again before me, and lo! to my perplexity, the date 1696! Was it possible that there could be *two* George Strachans in the seventeenth century, both from the Mearns, and both wanderers in the deserts of Chaldæa? This seemed to be a necessary induction, but it was certainly a surprising one. The solution I must leave for the present, and revert to Della Valle, whose notices of his Scotch friend I will give in English.

The first is that of which I have quoted above a few lines in the Italian. The passage begins by Pietro speaking of his arrival at 'A'na on the Euphrates:—

"On the 6th of October we arrived at Anna, at this day a chief city of the ARABS, but the ancient name of which I do not yet know. It stands on the EUPHRATES, half on one bank in ARABIA DESERTA, half on the other in MESOPOTAMIA. . . . It has but one street on either side of the river, but for all that it is no small city, for it extends in length more than five miles. . . . Belonging to the Emir FEIÂD, who is lord of the city as well as of the desert, there is a house of the better class for this part of Arabia . . . but the emir seldom visits it, and when he does, seldom stops, for he passes the whole year with his black tents, making the round of the confines of the desert of which he is ruler. . . . Finally, I wish to tell you that at present there lives with the Emir FEIÂD one of our FRANKS, by birth a gentleman, a SCOT by nation, and a Catholic, by name Signor GEORGE STRACAN, a man of distinction and education. Finding himself at ALEPPO, and being desirous to learn Arabic thoroughly, he resolved to go and take service with the Emir as a physician, although he was none such in reality, but hoping (as a clever and learned man might) to have knowledge enough to serve his turn passably at the business, in treating those uncivilized folk.

"So, furnishing himself with some prescriptions at the hand of a friend of his, a FLEMISH doctor at ALEPPO, he departed on that engagement, and at the very first had the good fortune to cure the Emir of some little ailment (I don't know what); and in that way acquired with him so much reputation and good-will, that now he is *cock of the walk*, and the most

"It is notable, and perhaps characteristic, that Strachan's friend and fellow-Catholic should, to all appearance, have been ignorant of the fact that he was a Jesuit." The *fact* was a figment of my own brain, so far as any evidence goes, and I have long owed an apology to the Society and to Strachan's memory for this erroneous statement.

favoured man at the court, beside having made money and acquired many articles of which he was in need. He also stands high in the favour of the Emir's wife, and has gained her over absolutely, by forbidding the Emir from having to do with any other women, on the pretext that he will be the worse for it. And so he is looked on kindly by everybody, and in the desert when you make mention of STRACAN you can say nothing beyond that ! I myself can testify that a few months since the Emir, being in the desert not far from ALEPPO, and Signor STRACAN having come to the city on his own affairs, the former, who had intended to leave, stopped there waiting for him more than a fortnight ; and finally, when there was still a delay, he started indeed, but left behind one of his principal chiefs with more than 100 horse to wait for STRACAN, and to escort him safely through the Desert ;—or, it may be, rather to make sure that he did not slip away, should he be that way inclined ! In fact, they are exceedingly well-disposed to him, and make him large presents, which is the important matter. As to STRACAN himself, I imagine that he thinks of making a little purse and then retiring ; for I can't think that kind of life for a continuance could be agreeable to one of us.

“He already has an excellent knowledge of Arabic ; and both in dress and speech, when he visits ALEPPO, among the multitude of those who throng him and pay him court (to a greater degree even than is paid to doctors in NAPLES by their patients), the very ARABS don't distinguish him from a genuine BEDOUIN. This Arabic word *Bedoui*, a derivative from *Bedèu* ‘desert,’ signifies ‘a dweller in the desert,’ to distinguish these from other kinds of Arabs who are styled differently. . . .”

I am not sure if Della Valle anywhere names the great tribe of which the Emir Feiàd was prince, but both the field of their movements west of the Euphrates from Aleppo southward, and the possession of 'A'na identify them with the great tribe or nation of 'Anaiza.

The next passage in which Della Valle speaks of Strachan is in his Letter VI. from Ispahan, commenced on 24th of August, 1619\* :—

“I have also a great longing to see ROME and NAPLES once more (there is no other place in the world that I much care about), and to sojourn in ITALY, where it would be possible for me, as it is not here, to carry to some greater perfection that study of languages which I have in a rough way carried on in these parts. I have seen the printed Arabic dictionary of FRANCESCO RAPHELENGO ;† and it is a good book, especially as the first of its kind ; still it stands in need of many emendations. Signor GEORGE STRACHAN, a SCOTTISH gentleman who is now here, and who has

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\* Vol. II. p. 50.

† “Francisci Raphelengii Lexicon Arabicum,” 4to. Published at Leiden in 1613.

lived for more than two years in the desert with the Emir FEIAD, would be a fit person to make dictionaries, and better still to correct them. He is an excellent master of the Arabic tongue, and possesses, as well as has read, many and capital books. He has promised me that he will apply himself to the translation of the 'Camus,'\* which is the most ample and perfect dictionary that the Arabs have, and I have myself a first-rate copy of it, which should be known in ROME. If Signor STRACHAN should undertake this task, the work will be one worthy of passing through the hands of scholars."

Again (Letter VIII. from Ispahan) 4th of April, 1620 : †

"The night following the Feast of the Purification . . . was made joyous in my house by the birth of a boy to my brother-in-law ABDULLAH GIOERIDO. The child was baptized a few days afterwards in the church of our barefoot Carmelites by the hand of the same Father Vicar Fra GIOVANNI whom I have spoken of, and they called him GEORGE. He was held at the Holy Font by Sign. ROBERT GIFFORD, ‡ an English Catholic gentleman, as substitute for Sign. GEORGE STRACHAN, also a noble Catholic from SCOTLAND, who was the intended godfather, but could not be present on account of indisposition at the time."

In Letter XVII. (from *Combrù*, i.e. Gombroon) of 20th November, 1622 : §—

"On the 24th October there arrived here in GOMBRON Signor GEORGE STRACHAN, who has long been a friend of mine in Persia, and who came as one of the ENGLISH to get ready a house and establishment for their party, with whom he lives, and also to escort their silk-convoy, which was approaching, and a part of which was expected immediately. I have mentioned this gentleman several times in my letters, but as this has been sometimes in letters from TURKEY, whence I represented him as in the desert with the ARABS, and sometimes in PERSIA, in the city of ISPAHAN, and perhaps elsewhere, that I may not confuse you through your not knowing how the same person should turn up in such various places, I may as well (now that opportunity occurs) give a brief account of his history ; nor will it be an unworthy subject, for he is a man of much merit. Let me say, then, that the Sign. GEORGE STRACHAN is a native of SCOTLAND, from the country of MEARN ;|| a gentleman born, of noble family, but a younger son of his house, and consequently having in his own country but scanty means. From an early age he was brought up in FRANCE, and studied in PARIS to good purpose. Gifted with a most acute intelligence,

\* The "Qámús," or Ocean, by the Qázi Majd-ud-dín al Fírúzabádí, b. A.H. 729, d. 816 or 817. (A.D. 1328-9—1414-15).

† Vol. II. p. 96.

‡ Robert Gyfford or Giffard appears as a member of the English factory in Persia, 1619-20.

§ Vol. II. 437.

|| "Merniese di patria."

he made great progress not only in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also in the sciences, getting a fundamental mastery of philosophy, theology, laws, mathematics, and every kind of curious learning. When come to man's estate, he had a desire to see the world, and, with this in view, to acquire a variety of languages. He sojourned a while in ITALY, and at ROME, and also, I fancy, in other parts of Christendom. Then passing on to the LEVANT, he stayed some time in CONSTANTINOPLE, where a little before my time he was well received by my friend Signor SANCY, \* who was then the ambassador of FRANCE in that capital, and hospitably entertained by him, with his usual great courtesy, for several months. From CONSTANTINOPLE he proceeded into SYRIA, visited Mount LEBANON, and having arrived at ALEPPO with the desire to get a thorough acquaintance with Arabic, and having been told that the Emir FEIAD, Prince of the adjoining desert, was in search of a physician, although he had never really studied medicine, he pretended to that profession. And so, having provided himself with some medical books, he went into the Emir's service as a physician.

"He remained with the Emir in the desert for two years ; and in that time gained an excellent knowledge of the Arabic language, as well as the fullest acquaintance with the most abstruse matters of the Mahommedans. The Emir was much attached to him, STRACHAN having had the good luck to cure him, at the very beginning of his stay, of some small ailments that were troubling him ; and the Emir's principal wife held him in no less regard " (for a reason already given). "They wished to keep him with them always ; and to this end they did their best to bind him to them by giving him a wife of considerable rank, as well as substance. They were also continually endeavouring to persuade him to become a Mahommedan, an endeavour which he rather fenced with and put off than met with a decided negative. And this, he says, he did, not so much to avoid offending the prince and his wife, as to show that his belief was not the result of hazard ; and that a change of faith should not be made for worldly ends, but only (as would have been the result with him) if they should really convince him that their religion was better than his own. This mode of action of his brought on daily controversies to any extent, in which the part taken by him among those Mahommedans might be regarded as substantially preachings ; and so, too, were continually elicited discourses by the most accomplished *literati* among the ARABS, whom the Emir gathered about STRACHAN with a view to his conversion, to say nothing of his obtaining the perusal of any book that he desired, which the Emir either furnished him with, or obtained for him. Amid all this he continued to show that he was not yet satisfied, and so managed to spin out the affair, every day becoming more and more master fundamentally of the most intimate details of Mahommedanism, with the object of one day turning this knowledge to account on behalf of our Faith, through possession of the capability to refute, on solid grounds, all the errors of that false doctrine.

"In this fashion, and with these arts, he spent two years under tents in the desert with the wandering ARABS ; and in this life he found, by his own

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\* The *eponymus* of the famous Sancy diamond ; stolen, with other crown-jewels of France, in 1793, but which was never, like some of the others, recovered.



account, the utmost relish. This was due, not merely to the pleasure of constant wandering (at a gentle pace, indeed, which caused no fatigue), but also to the noble pastime afforded by sport in various forms to which the chiefs are given; and to that generous manner of living in absolute freedom to which those people are habituated, neither hemmed within town walls, nor subject to the rule of any one except of the prince when he is present. But, at last, seeing that the Emir was becoming more and more stringent in pressing him to undergo circumcision, he would no longer put off his retreat. And finding an opportunity when the Emir's camp was in a certain tract not far from Bagdad, he successfully arranged his escape, not without a good deal of trouble and disturbance on the part of the lady who deemed herself his wife, and got away into that city, where he stayed several months, during which the ARABS never quite lost the hope of getting him back. But he eluded them at last, and came to PERSIA and to ISPAHAN in my time, and whilst the ENGLISH had still an establishment there. Becoming known to the ENGLISH as a gentleman of their nation, and one of such eminent capacity, although by open profession a Catholic, they insisted on having him in their house, where they lodged him and continued to entertain him in the most honourable manner. And he always stopped with them, except once for a while, a little before I left ISPAHAN, when, for what reason I know not, he put up for some months at the Convent of our Barefoot Carmelites. These fathers got no small benefit from the opportunity of his presence, both in respect to the Arabic tongue and to other matters serviceable to them. He went back, however, to the ENGLISH, nor do I know the reason of that either. And with them, and on their business, he came a few days ago to GOMBROON, where we met again with the greatest pleasure on both sides. For since the first day of our acquaintance, through a congeniality of spirit, and a conformity of ways, in addition to an equal delight in study, and that zeal and love for our common faith, which in these regions has served to make a stronger tie between us than anything else, there has arisen between him and me a most intimate and unbroken friendship.

"He gave me a great deal of news from ISPAHAN, and told me he had also letters from the Barefoot Fathers and two books to deliver to me, but that they were left in his boxes, on the road with the *cafila*. . . . Two days after his arrival, when he went to speak with SEVENDUK SULTAN, I was desirous to go with him, in order that the Sultan might understand clearly that I was in amity with the ENGLISH, and not held in suspicion by them, and so he should have no ground of mistrust such as should make him interfere with the speedy departure which I so much desired.\* Signor STRACHAN, to help me the more, spoke of me with the greatest warmth, saying that not only was I their friend, but that I was a person to whom their nation was bound to show the greatest care and protection. The Sultan, speaking with Sign. STRACHAN more freely than he had spoken with me at first, let it be understood that he had reported my coming to the Khan at SHIRAZ, inquiring how he should deal with me in such times of suspicion? whether he should allow me to proceed, or detain me? and said that he awaited a reply from that quarter, and would act accordingly.

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\* *I.e.*, for India.

And as STRACHAN pressed him to let me go, he said at last that if I desired to go, since they attested me as a friend of theirs, he would despatch me to ARABIA with the first vessel going in that direction; but this could not be earlier than twenty days from that time, in which interval also the reply from SHIRAZ might be expected. But when I had gone, purposely leaving STRACHAN alone, that in my absence he might the better discover the Sultan's intentions, the latter said to him, that if I were indeed their friend they had better not send me into ARABIA, for I should have trouble there, and not get through so easily as I thought."

Della Valle proceeds, in his usual sensible, but somewhat diffuse manner, to give the reasons why he would run risk in the hands of the Arabs, and had better not go to Muscat as he had intended, in order to get on to India; but that, having already lost so much time, he should wait a little longer for the English ships:

"And meanwhile, should any order from SHIRAZ arrive, or should the Sultan have any suspicion of me, Signor STRACHAN assured me that his nation, and he himself, who at this time had all the interests of the nation in his hands, would so carry though my affairs, and take such care of me, that considering the powerful influence that the ENGLISH in PERSIA now had over the king, neither the Sultan nor the Khan \* himself could, even if they would, cause me any annoyance.

"Of all this I felt assured. . . . On the 28th of October came in the first *cafila* with the English silk, conducted by Captain JOHN BENTHALL, to whom I paid a visit the same day. They divided their silk between two convoys, one of which had stopped behind at LAR, whilst this other, the first to arrive, between silk and *ronàs*,† which is a dye-wood, consisted of 200 packs or great wrappers, each of them forming half a camel-load. . . . The English goods being thus deposited, Signor STRACHAN had an opportunity to open and unpack his boxes, and delivered to me the letter which he had brought from the Father Prior of the Barefoot Carmelites at ISPAHAN, and along with it also a PERSIAN book, of the nature of a vocabulary, sent me by the same Father. In this, a modern author who is still alive at ISPAHAN, and is a man of great learning in the language, has collected all the ancient PERSIAN words which are now obsolete. After the SARACEN invasion of PERSIA the language became much corrupted by the intermixture of many Arabic vocables, and the words in question have been quite disused, and in a manner forgotten, so that the PERSIANS themselves do not understand them without an interpreter. This book is of the greatest use for the language, especially for the comprehension of the most celebrated poets and old writers, and having become acquainted with its existence, a little before my departure from ISPAHAN, I took steps to have a copy from the author himself of the work, which he has called *Furs* SURURI, *i.e.*, *The*

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\* Sevenduk Sultan, Governor of Gombroon, and the Khán of Shiráz.

† *Ronàs* is madder.

*Persian Idioms* of SURURI, which is his own name. . . . But as the transcript was not completed when I was quitting ISPAHAN, I committed the matter, with the needful money, to the care of the Father Prior. . . . Hence I was greatly pleased to get the book here in GOMBROON, and I mean to carry it to ITALY with my other books for the public benefit. Signor STRACHAN also gave me, as a present of his own, another PERSIAN book, which is very precious to me, as directly pertaining to myself. For, as he told me, it was a work that had issued a few months since in Ispahan by order of the Satraps of the Sect, in reply to that epistle of mine, of which a while ago I gave you some account, as having been written and published by me against the Mahommedans with reference to certain religious controversies."

The account that follows is interesting, but one must have leisure and space to deal at full length with Pietro. *Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.* I must pass to his latest mention of my countryman :

"Whilst these matters were passing, and I was (bit by bit) writing this letter, so as to have it ready for the first opportunity of dispatch, Signor GEORGE STRACHAN fell grievously ill of fever; and with the approval of all, lest in this place where the air is perhaps none of the best, and which has few conveniences, there should happen such a calamity as befel me last year in Mina,\* he resolved to go to LAR to seek recovery, since there is no place nearer adapted to that object. Thence if he should be cured (please God) he will return to ISPAHAN; and he sets off this very night. I send by him (a most trusty bearer he is, and one for whose illness and his too early separation from me I feel beyond bounds) this despatch of mine to ISPAHAN, to be forwarded thence to ITALY."

There is no further mention of Strachan, nor do I know if the friends, Roman and Mearns-man, ever met again. Della Valle, on January 19, 1623, sailed for Surat on board the English ship *Whale* (or *Balena*, as he styles it), Captain Nicholas Woodcock, commander, and in company with the *Dolphin*, Captain Matthew Willes. With Captain Woodcock, who had navigated the Arctic Seas and been engaged in the whale fishery, the traveller seems to have had interesting conversations. But probably he misunderstood the skipper, when he says that Captain Woodcock was the first Christian who discovered Greenland, and who gave it that name! The account which Della Valle has left of the English crew of the *Whale* is highly interesting, and shows that we have

\* Where Della Valle lost his beloved wife, the Lady Maani.

not in all things been advancing since the days of King James. I have already spoken of the inscription of Geo. Strachan's name at the end of the Arabic *Injil* of 1591, and of the difficulty created by the date of 1696 there plainly written. Showing it recently to a friend of great perspicacity,\* and briefly explaining the difficulty, after a few minutes study of the writing, he said, "This writing is not the original; it is traced over an original to deepen it."

This was the clue, found at once by acute perception and acute sight, to what had been puzzling me for years! And on carrying the book to the British Museum, and putting it before the experienced Keeper of the MSS.,† he instantly made the same remark as my friend just mentioned, and almost in the same words.

The conclusion was that the original writing had been very lightly traced, and brushed over with the vermilion by some native owner probably, who considered the inscription a blur upon the volume; that a later owner had followed the tracing in black ink, and, not being much of a scholar, had made mistakes in his interpretation and in his Latin. The result of various studies, including those of a younger pair of eyes than had yet been applied, came to this, as an approximate restoration of the palimpsest:—

<i>Legit Georgius Strachanus Merniensis †</i>	<i>Scotus; diebus</i>
<i>viginti, horis succisivis: § in desertis Chaldaee, ad</i>	
<i>occidentem</i>	<i>Babilonis in</i>
<i>et apud</i>	<i>Faiathum ¶</i>
<i>Regem Arabum</i>	<i>anno Chri 1616 **</i>
<i>finivit die</i>	<i>19 Januarij</i>
<hr/>	<hr/>
<i>Summa laus</i>	<i>Trinitati individuae</i>

\* Mr. Ernest Satow, C.M.G., our Resident Minister in Siam.

† Mr. E. Maund Thompson.

‡ The *e*'s have been written with the old form, still preserved in German *schrift*; and these have puzzled the re-writer. Hence the *Mil-niensis*, or what not, of the existing inscription.

§ *I.e.*, *subsecivis*, as Dr. John Brown, of happy memory, writes it. The form above is in the Dictionaries.

|| Doubtful; but may stand thus for *Magni*.

¶ *I.e.*, the *Feiâd* of P. della Valle.

\*\* The 9 in the palimpsest seems to have originated, more or less, in the stamping through the paper of an Arabic letter on the reverse of the leaf.

The two following words, *Missionis Xrinagarensis*, are presumably of later date, and indicate that the book had become the property of a Catholic Mission in India. The X is probably used for *Sh*, as often by the Portuguese and other Southerns; and if so, we must read, "Of the *Srinagar Mission*." I have not been able to identify such a mission, but I should meanwhile conjecture that the place was Srinagar in Garhwál. The Capuchins had various mission-stations in the Himálaya, I believe, in the last century.

The same young eyes that I have alluded to discerned at the bottom of the *first* page of the book that another line or two of writing had been covered by green paint, representing flowers and grass; but though it was not possible to make out all, there was decipherable after washing:—

*Georgij St . . . nsis Scot . . .  
anno Chrij Saluatoris 16 (torn away)*

Having learned so much as I have extracted regarding George Strachan from the Italian traveller, I naturally turned to the records of the India Office, to see if they contained any mention of him, first seeking a clue in the invaluable Calendars and Indexes of Mr. Sainsbury. And I was not disappointed.

The extract which follows is the first in which I find Strachan mentioned:

"A consultation held in SPAHAN the 20th June, 1619, being present THOMAS BARKER, president, EDWARD MONNOX and WILL. ROBINS, Merchants.\*

"The President propounded, Whereas Mr. GEORGE STRACHAN a SCOTISH gent. is lately arrived from BAGDATT into this Cittie, and purposeth from hence to goe into INDIA, whether it were not fitting and Civilitie in us for the time of his abode here to proffer him a Chamber and his diett in the Companys house and his passage . . . hence to INDIA uppon their next shipp that shall heere arrive.

"This proposition being well debated and Severall objections made there unto, at first his religion which" [not legible] "next his much breeding and long continuance in FRANCE whereby hee is become as well a FRENCH man as a SCOTISH man and verrie little or nothing at all an

\* In India Records, O. C. 717.

ENGLISH man, nor as some suspect barely a good Subject unto the King of ENGLAND, and therefore by entertaininge him into the Companyes House, he may gett such insight into their busines that hereafter may put [? prove] verie prejudiciall to the designs of our Honourable Employers.

"Notwithstanding Such Severall objections it was for the reasons following generally concluded and resolved not onlie to receiue him as a guest into the House, but to entertaine him as assistant to the Company. First for that the SPANISH Amb<sup>r</sup>:\* hath been importunate with him not only to accept of his House but also of Some employment, which Hee intended to putt him in for the Service of the King of SPAINE, which Service wee haue iust Cause to Suspect is Cheifely by interceptance of our letters, by his meanes to haue them translated, and to Come to the knowledge of the Contents of them, wherein Hee is so ingenious that our wrighting in Characters would hardlie be concealed, where nowe our plaine Wrighting, neyther by the Ambassador nor yett by anie other in this Cuntrie (this gent onlie excepted), canne bee translated or anie way vnderstood.

"Next he is well practised in Phisick which hath beene his whole maintenance for 7 or eighte yeares together he hath lived with the King of the ARRABS and in BAGDATT, the want of which facultie and one of his qualitie to bee amongst us hath doughtlesse been the losse of Severall of the Companys Servants liues in this PERSIAN Employment, which for the future and with Gods assistance may by him well be prevented.

"As for his language which is Latine, french, Italian, Hebrue, and greecke, but cheifelie the Arab wherin he is verie perfect, may be verry behouefull and much helping unto the Affaires of the Companie.

"Lastlie the hope we haue to gaine him to us from the SPANIARD, and without any great Chardge unto our Masters hath caused the Consultation to resolve rayther to hazard an in Convenience by intertayning the abouesaid gentle man then to runne into Soe apparent a mischeife as may happen if the SPANISH Ambassador should gett him from us to serve him in the designe of intercepting our letters &c.

"Having thus resolved, it was then propounded what Sallery to give him which being well debated ten dollars pr. month was thought little enough yett not to excede that Some till Some triall made of him and therby experienc'd our Selves both of his behavior and deserts. And also to take the approbation of a Consultation at the Comming of the next fleete both for his Continuance and" [mutilation] "of his meanes, or otherwise to send him awaye oute of the Country" [mutilation] "to prevent all occasions of doubt or oportunitie to give anie impediment to this our hopefull busines." . . .

Again, "at SPAHAN the 24th Sepr. 1619."

"The Agent propounded a new Agreement to be made with Master GEORGE STRAHAN, for that our former Agreement with him doth not Content him, wherefore it was generally Consented unto to give him twelve Tomans per Annum for that by the experience we haue had of him

\* This was Don Garcias de Silva y Figueroa, of whose Embassy there is a narrative, of which I know only the FRENCH translation, Paris, 1667. There is also a letter of his in *Purchas*, Vol. II.

he is not onlie able to doe the Company Seruice as phisician, but more seruice and no lesse behouefull as a linguist, wherein wee 1 and all have many occasions to use his helpe, especially since it hath pleased god to call Mr. ROBBINS, and [by] the experience which we have already had of him he is verrie sufficient and no doubt will well deserue his intertaynement."

Letter to the Company from SPAHAN, 16th October, 1619: \*

"Not many monthes since heere arryued GEORGE STRACHAN a SCOTISH gentleman and a good and well experymented phisition who hath longe lyued with FFYAUT Kinge of those ARABS who inhabite all the dezart which extendeth it selfe from the confines of old BABILON to ALEPPO, who in regard of his profeshion was in such favour with the Kinge that he gave him his brothers widdowe to wife, with whome he lyued untill he had intelligence of the Kings intention to force him to be of theire Dyabolicall Sect for which Cause he fled to BAGDATT where he well exprest his loyaltie to his King and Countrye, and his zeale for the successfull proceedings of your Honours affayres in these partes by Setting free of WM. NELSON from that emynent danger where vnto he was fallen by being knowne there, for whome if he had not interceded with the Governour he had lost both lyfe and letters, to the vtter subversion of this your noble undertaking.

"This gentleman in regard of his profession which is of Such necessary Consequence in these Vnhealthful Climates and for Sondrye other reasons exprest in several Consultations we gave entertaynement into your Honours Service at 16 Pcs: 8† per month to serue not onely as a Physition but to assist to the best he Can with his languadge (wherein he excelleth) in any your employments which Condition we are to observe duringe his merrits and your Honours approbation."

"To the Right Worshippfull S<sup>r</sup>: THO: SMYTH Knight Governour for the Honble: Company of Marchants trading into EAST INDIA

In LONDON. ‡

"RIGHT WORSHIPFULL SIR,—It is not vnknowne to your worshipp as I esteeme nor vnto the rest of the honble: Company in what State and intention I came the last yeare into this Countrye and vpon what Conditions and hopes, I was retayned by the deceased THO: BARKER Agent and the rest of the part of the Honble: Companies factors heere much against my owne intentions or desires, for haveing seene all TURKYE and the most parte of ARABIA these seaven yeares nowe past and haveing learned the languadge I was passing into INDIA to the Courte of the GREAT MOGOURE, with good recommendations and fayre expectations, but after that the aforesaid gentlemen had with many reasons declared vnto me the honnor and vtilitie which I might [?] haue] of the Honble Company yf I would

\* O. C. 815.

† 16 Pieces of eight, *i.e.*, Spanish dollars. This would be about the same as 12 *tománs* a year, the toman being then reckoned = £3 6s. 8d.

‡ O. C. 846. Undoubtedly a holograph letter of Strachan's.

accepte of their service rather then to spend my age in followinge of forreigne princes, I was persuaded by their Courteous offers to tarrye with them heere till I could knowe the Honble: Companies will in that respect. And therefore at this present haue taken the bouldnes to acquaint your worshipp with the Same, most humbly intreatinge him as head and governour of all that honorable bodye (after dewe consideration of my quallitie and service which I am able and willing to doe and performe for the Honble: Companies service) to let me haue an answere of what I can have and hope for of them yearlye that I may the more deliberately and contentedly continue in their Honours Service wherein [*mutilated*] honest men are dayly made riche, it is well knowne to all those which be heere that laying aside the physick which is the principall cause of my entertainment: not only I can serve them much by my language in this place but alsoe by the friendship which I haue with the ARABIAN and VENETIAN marchants in BABYLON and ALEPPO, and may cause thence letters to be safely conveyed to the Consull at ALLEPPO with easie expenses and without danger as divers tymes heretofore I haue done and nowe this present packett by my means is sent by the said way of BABILON. Yea I may alsoe finde favour to cause the ENGLISH passe safely through these Countrys when occasion shall offer that any should take their waye thence by land, as I did faithfully and freely now two yeares agoe, in the person of WILLIAM NELLSON, the which if he had not found me at BABILON had assuredly bine burnt with his letterss. And finallye I can serve you as well as any other in chooseing and buying of all such druggs which this Countrie can afforde. And in Consideration of all the afore-said I haue demanded and hope to obtayne of the honourable Companie 100: pounds per Annum for all entertainment and charges to be paid me yearlye here, wherevpon I beseech your worshipp to Cause me to haue an answere of the Honble Company by the first letters that thereby I may be resolved what to doe, for if it shall not please them to honor me with that answere I shall then take their sylenche for a direct distast and Soe continew my begunn Voyadge whether it shall please god to direct me. Thus praying your worshipp to pardon me if too rashly I haue enterprized to importune him with these few lynes I comitt him humbly unto the protection of the Almightye from whome I doe devoutly wish vnto your worshipp all prosperitie and felicitie.

"Your worships servant at Command

"GEORGE STRACHAN."

"SPAHAN the 25th March 1620."

FROM WILLIAM BELL TO MR. MONOX, &C., AT SPAHAN.\*

Dated "SHIRASS, the 8th of May, 1620."

\* \* \* \* \*

"This bearer, Mr. STRACHAN, since your departure, hath been visited with a voyalent burning feavour, and hath had 15 ffitts already, which hath much weakened him, and hee much feareth if he should stay heere it would cost



him his life, for hee hath been very greuously handled, what hauing the Company of Signor ALUISEO PARENT is determynd to depart this night towards SPAHAN, where hee hopes to recouer his health, that being a more holosome ayre than this, espetially att this tyme of the yeaere, which I willingly consented vnto, for his health's sake, because hee could not now assist me in my bussines, being soe sick, thus being prevented by tyme doe take my leave."

*(Indorsement on the next paper.) \**

\* \* \* \* \*

"The trewe copie of a remembrance left with JOHN AMYES by the Agent, Mr. MONNOX, &c., 16th of May, A<sup>o</sup>. 1619, wherein is ordered to be demanded of ROBT. JEFFRIS, and other the Companys servants, 28 *baftas* (as he affirmeth prime cost in INDIA), costing 450 *sha(hees)*, which *baftas* were presented vnto SHERARY in a present with other things, whereon the proffyt was alreadye included. And to witnes the same, I have already sent generall copies of the Consultation held at MOGUSTAN, the 15th January, A.D. 1619 [*i.e.*, 1620], for dispensation of the said present, which copies, if neither come to your honours hands, doe referr you vnto the same mentioned in the books of consultation copied and sent by the same Agent.

R. JEFFRIS."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Together with the rest of the goods mentioned in a Remembrance left with your consignee unto Mr. BELL and Mr. STRACHAN and your self. I desier both you and them to procure Sale for them, to my best advantage and investment, and retorne thereof to be made according to my fore-mentioned writting, And not only of that but of all other monyes, and goods of myne, which shall Accrewe vnto me of right, if I happen to dye in this my intended journye, wherein I desier the favor of all the Companye Servants, yet no otherwise then as charitye and a good Conscience, both before God and man may sufficiently warrant.

"Your poore friend to command,

"SPAHAN the 16th of May A<sup>o</sup>. 1620.

"EDWARD MONNOX."

Of what followed we have no direct information. But evidently great jealousy had arisen against Strachan on the part of some members of the English factory, especially of Robert Jefferis.

Jefferis appears repeatedly as an accuser of his colleagues, especially directing his censure and charges against Mr. Monnox, the Agent, and Mr. Cardrowe, the Chaplain. In one series of twelve charges against Monnox, he also drags in Strachan, thus (O. C. 845):

"That cloake" (of merchandize accounts) "hath devoured straunge somes of moneyes to your honours great chardge. S<sup>r</sup>. STRAHAN (the Companies SCOTSMAN) could give 800 *Shahees*, wherewith your honours accompt standeth charged for so much given to the poore, when Mr. BARKER was buried. I feare the greater parte thereof was buried in the SCOTSMAN'S purse. And chardges on merchandize doth countenance yt. I see so many abuses donne, and silence them from you I cannot. And am often vexed to see dayly the wrongs donne the Company, and the greatest greefe of all I cannot remeedy the same. When I tell the Agent privatly of such and such burthensome servants vnto the ffactory, he declares yt publicquely either at dynner or supper that I seeke to cleanse the Company from their service, thinking thereby to procure their hatred towards me: but for all I thanke God I am armed with patience . . . he hath committed an error.

"No. 11. is his publique private trade formerly advised by my letters concerning 30 Bales of INDIA comodities, *viz.*, 5 Bales *baftaes* and *Shashes*, and 25 Bales of Gumlacke newly arrived heere, which is carried so privatly from my notice as may bee. And our SCOTSMAN is his ffactor for vnderhand dealing in this busines *de Contrabanda*." \*

The Agent at Ispahan, Thomas Barker, senior, (who had evidently been Strachan's supporter in bringing him into

\* The following extract from an earlier part of Jefferis' letter of charges against Monnox, gives a curious glimpse of the interior of the factory at Ispahan in 1619.

"No. 8. are certayne bookes he brought with him out of ENGLAND, or got since by death of some that could not carrye them to Heaven, which he chardgeth in 244 *Shahees* 5 *Cosbeggs*, he did well to add the odd monyes, to make the chardging of yt the more odly, yet easily to be seen by any ODCOMBE apprehension: His allegation is for bettering Mr. CARDROWES studies. As I am honest man yt appeareth not in his seldome exercises; And I may iustly say without doing him wrong, he hath not studied after the rate of 1 per cent. (vnlesse it be in Tobacco and Wyne, and Sleepe) in the bookes he brought with him."

Again, from "*Consultation held in SPAHAN*, the 14th of August, A<sup>o</sup>. 1620, (O. C. 887) *whereat were present* ROBERT JEFFERIS, THOMAS BARKER and JOHN BENTHALL, the rest of Companies servants absent: "

"As he entered within the house of this factorye, found vnruley drunken disorder among Mason the dorkeeper and two Runnawayes from the flect (EDUARD PATTEN and JOHN HAWKYNS), in sorte that PATTEN, in his staggering sence, carryed away in his armes an vnsteady one of his company (whom Wyne bereaued of ffootmanship) which ROBERT JEFFERIS perceaving as he entered into the house, followed this drunken quadrill, and just lighted on the said PATTEN, whom reproving for such misdemeanours, bestowed on him some 3 or 4 switches with his riding *Chabucke*, which PATTEN grumblingly received, saying it could not be answered what he had donne vnto him, And that on striking him againe he would strike the said JEFFERIS vnto whom he ought no obedience."

the Company's employment) having died at Ispahan, November 30, 1619, whilst the rest of the factors were absent at the Gulf, Jefferis seems to have promoted an accusation against Strachan, of having poisoned his chief. The chief document touching this matter is indorsed—

*"Copie of a consultation held in SPAHAN, the 27th August, 1620, whereby ROBERT JEFFRIES and Mr. STRACHAN were both of them dismissed from the service of the Right Honble. Company." \**

But in fact it now contains only a fragment of a letter from Strachan, addressed to Mr. Monnox, successor of Barker, as follows :

\* \* \* \* \*

"These points, worthy Signor, I earnestly desire that as you will answer first to God, the Lord of Lords, and next to our Soueraine the Kings Majestie, the most honourable Counsell, and lastly vnto your Honble. Masters and Employers to Consider and discusse thereafter to doe me justice, and that my innocent and honest life may be preserued and restored vnto mee again fre from the malicious Craftiness of this wicked man who would haue taken it from mee to the slander of Our Nation and Confusion of Christians, the great damage of the Hon. Companys Affaires in this Empire, and finally to all your wrecks and overthrowings who are heere employed in them.

"Worshipfull Signor MONOX ye are our head heere and Ordinarye Judge under God, therefore I beseech you as before in the King and Companys name to free me now of this Ignominye and Shame, by correcting and restraining this euile and enuious man, or that if his malicious minde and detracting toungue Cannot be bridled, gouerned or restrayned, to give me liyense to goe out of this house and permit that I may liue in peace and honour amongst strangers seeing I cannot find them amongst my Countrymen, so I shall be oblidged ever to love you and to pray the Almightye for your prosperitie and long life that you may see your childrens children vnto the fourth generation.

"GEORGE STRACHAN."

The rest of these extracts seem to have been a series of pieces sent home by Jefferis to the Company, venting his wrathful charges against Mr. Monnox and Strachan.

It is clear that Jefferis was dismissed, and Strachan after a time restored to the Company's service. And it was during this interval, no doubt, that he dwelt for a time with.

the Carmelites in Ispahan, as Della Valle mentions in the extract at p.

*(Copy of Declaration.)\**

• “We whose names are vnder written, doe by theis lynes testifie, that whereas on Sondag last, GEORG STRACAN exhibited certayne articles vnto EDWARD MONNOX, Agent, against ROBERT JEFFERIS merchant And herevppon consultation was convoked in absence of the said JEFFERIS, for the assumption whereof he [was] detayned albeit he sollicitod to be certified whereon it did determyne. But the daye following (presently after prayers) did pronounce the dismissal of the Honble. Service vnto the said JEFFERIS, which perceaving asked where for? yet was by him answered, that Consultation (in request to the said articles) had so determined, and that the said ROBERT JEFFERIS was ordered to repaire to JASQUES to answer the said articles there at the arrivall of the ffeet, which God conducte in safetie. *Amen.*

“Joh. Benthall.

“Richard Smith.

“John Hautrye.”

“Espahan the 30th of August A° 1620.”

“Mr. BELL and JOHN PUREFEY were also absent from this consultation and publication of that monstrous sentence patcht together on no ground or reason, but framed of mallice and much weaknesse. JEFFERIS.”

The above declaration is indorsed as follows :

“That EDWARD MONNOX pronounced a monstrous sentence against ROBERT JEFFERIS, dismissing him from the service of the Honble. Company.

“Now he never thought treason as their owne accusation will sufficiently confute them, though your Agent your Minister and Phisitian and their divells, haue taken much paynes to make them selves scandalous to all honest and reasonable apprehensions, as to their accusations and myne answer (heerewith) accompanied I doe humbly referr your Honours censures.

“R. JEFFERIS.”

O.C. 890.

“Io PIETRO CHEUART protesto auer entese di doi frati PORTUGUESI, que li Signori GUILLERMO et il Sigñor TOMAS BARCHER Agente per li Signori DINGLTERRA Sono estato matzati Di Veneno per mano Del ESTRACANO ESCOYESE di natió e medico De la sua arte, in prsentia de STEFANO DE SANT JACQUE, et li ditti frati cosi diceuano ail mag<sup>co</sup>: S<sup>or</sup>: GIFFERIS che se guardasse la boca, et che il sudito STRACANO voleua imponsonar tutti li altri INGLESÌ DISPAHAN.

“Yo protesto sopra la mia fede e Inante dio diceuano cosi, & lo ho sintito De la boca De li sopradetti frati.

“Io PIETRO CHEUART, FRANESE.

“ESTEFANO DE SANT JACUES.”

“SPAHAN, 8 de Setembre 1620.”

"Copied from the originall in my possession without mending his broken ITALIAN because I would the copie should agree with what is written by himselfe and firmed by another Xtian in his Company.

"JEFFERIS."

"By il Signor GUILLERMO is to be understood the deceased WILLIAM RHYNS."

The indorsement is :

"PIETRO CHEUART and ESTEFANO DE ST. JAQUE witnessing that two PORTUGALL ffryars reported that STRACAN our Surgeon had poysoned WILL<sup>M</sup>: RHYNS and THOMAS BARKER the late Agent And I protest before the Lord, that in my Hearing they reported the same without any one demanding any question tending to that meaning, And the one of them verified yt to me—And WILL<sup>M</sup>: BELL at another time which to me was often confirmed by our Bañan broker wishinge me to be carefull of STRACAN, And the poore man would have spoken it to his Face, that such was the generall reporte of him But I excused his testimonye because that Idiot STRACAN is the only Counsellor and director of the Sillye Agent, Signor MONNOX.

"JEFFERIS."

"Mr. MONNOX and STRACAN, fearing I would make dilligent search for the truth of this report loosed no tyme to invent some project to deterr me from PERSIA."

(Declaration.)\*

"Wee the vnder written doe by theis presents affirme and testifie that EDWARD MONNOX (Agent for the Right Honble. Company in their PERSIAN Employment) did on the 22<sup>th</sup>: of September last (when ROBERT JEFFERIS prepared to have gone on shoare in his Company) publickly pronounce and divulge (in our hearing) aboard the good Ship the *London* in the road of JASQUES, that he had taken order that the said JEFFERIS should not depart from aboard, ffor that he had and did commyt him there A Prisoner for the Kinge. In testimony of the truth wee have heerunto subscribed our firmes aboard the *London* the 10<sup>th</sup>: of February 1620 (-21).

"WILLIAM BAFFIN,†

"JOHN WOOLHOUSE, presbit<sup>r</sup>:

"BARTHOLOMEWE SYMONDS, chirurg<sup>n</sup>:"

"I could have had fortye witnesses more but excused them, ffor he spake it first in the great Cabbin and afterwards vpon the false decke working my disesteem amonge Straungers to publish my disgrace so much as possibly he could. God pardon him, his practizes have been foolish and infernall from whom the Lord will deliver.

"Ro: JEFFERIS."

\* O.C. 928.

† The famous navigator. He was killed January 23rd, 1622, in the siege of a Portuguese fort on the Island of Kishm, preparatory to the capture of Ormus.

ROBERT JEFFERIS *to the Company*.\*

Dated "SURATT the 14<sup>th</sup>: of March, 1620.

"My last vnto your honours were severally from ESPAHAN of the 20<sup>th</sup>: and 25<sup>th</sup>: of July . . . at what tyme I certified at large, the generall passages of your PERSIAN proceedings. Whereof my Selfe for taking notice (according to dutie) and endeavoring a reformation of the weake, diseased, and vnmerchantly carriage, with my discovering the vnreasonable, inconstionable corruption of Mr. MONNOX in certayne percells of iniquitie, hath been (with the dispensation of the diuell) a trynall treckerye begotten against me by our criticall Agent Mr. MONNOX, our carnall minister Mr. CARDRO and STRACAN our infernall phesition, the world, the flesh, and diuell, whose conspiracy hath caused theis lynes to take their being (I knowe to your honours no little admiration) from hence; whence cursorily I shall in theis following lynes intimate the cause of my persecution, to better your honours apprehension of my vnderdeserved banishment from your Persian employment.

"The Agent EDWARD MONNOX, hauing committed many groce abuses, wherein he deserueth a iust taxation, to call both his prioritye and honestye to accompt . . . his interception of my letters vnto your honours, besides his imperious insultation (vppon whom he pleaseth) which makes your honours seruice an insupportable servitude . . . Our minister, MATHEWE CARDRO, for his vnchristian carriage, in drinking, drinking Tobacco, late ranning in the night with inferior servants, and to places arguing dishonestie, dyce playing, encouraging younkers to deboisture, denying vs prayers but when his humor pleased, with other vnclericall carriage, as appeareth by 2 severall consultations in that behalfe, which abuses for my reproofing, and seeking to reforme, hath caused him to joyne hands with iniquity to make a second person in the conspiracye.

"And STRACAN our Antechristian Phesitian, for his fflattering, lying, dissimulation, inconstionable stores of purloynment, with his tentarhookes of deere penniworthes of plaisters and purges, sowing dissention in the ffactory, his scandalous reporte of poyzoning the Companys servants as the late Agent and WILLIAM RHYNS, his discouering all the passages of our busines to the ffryers in ESPAHAN, through his confession and disloyall service to the Company, intercepting of their letters. How can he be otherwise, being married to a MORE in ARABIA, from whom he tooke his runnagate raunge, leaving wyfe and family to prosecute the diuells commission in doing euill; continewally despizeth his owne country, and yts church, And confesseth to haue the dispensation of the Pope to dissemble his Religion in all his Pilgrymage. Whose plague infection to remove from our ffactory (by irresistible reasons to the Agent besides costeth the Company 100*l*. per annum) hath wrought him to act the diuill, to make a complete number of my cappittall Aduersaries.

"I am here besieged with the world, the flesh and the diuell, whose triple treachery hath begotten a forged Sonne called treason by the vnion of their iniquity, to wage warr, and if possible to robb me holy of lyfe and reputation. But God (who is all truth) will in his good tyme let

truth prevaile, and put hell's instruments to confusion, who have conspired against my wronged innocence.

"The forgatory ridiculous, vnauthorized treason (as they would haue it) was exhibited by STRACAN (with other liberties of his owne invention) vnto E. MONNOX on Sunday, the 17th of August last, the some whereof was: That in february 1619 in XIRAS I should tell one GILES GONSALVES (a PORTUGALL) that our vertuous, Queen ANN (of happie memory) died a Catholicke, And that our hopefull prince CHARLES was tutored in the Papist religion etc. . . .

"This forgery STRACAN found in a Gazita and would needs obtrude on myne accompt, which our deboist minister furthered, affirming his certayne knowledge in our lawes that it was a danugerous enditement and would stand authenticate for my conviction," etc. etc.

So much fragmentary information regarding this somewhat remarkable person is to be found in the letters of P. della Valle, and in the surviving records of the East India Company.

Some seventeen or eighteen years ago, soon after my attention had been first drawn to Strachan's name in the book of the Roman traveller, when searching for something else in the MS. Catalogue of the Public Library at Naples, I came upon the following entry, of which I made a note at the time :

*In Catalogue III., F. 48.*

"Codice in carta Araba di pagg. 346. Cuoio di Russia. Contiene una porzione (come pare non tutto) delle poesie che costituiscono la *Moallaca* col comentario di ZUZENIO. E porta una nota in queste parole\*.

"*Septem poetae ARABES gentiles qui ante tempora MUHAMMED floruerunt cum continuo Comentario Vivi doctissimi: HUSSEIN EL ZUZANI, hunc librum propter raritatem et Charitatem venalem non repperit ideoque describi ex antiquis MS.(S.) curavit BABILONIS, Anno D. 1619*

"GEORGIUS STRACHANUS,  
MERNIENSIS SCOTUS."

From inquiries made recently with a view to this article, through my distinguished friend the Senatore Villari, I learn that there is no information available as to the date when, or the manner how, this manuscript was acquired by the Library. But several other MSS. in the

\* See Hammer's *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*. I. 280 seqq. They were called *Mu'allaqât* or the "suspended," from being hung up in the temple at Mecca.

collection have belonged to Strachan, these bearing his signature ; in all, nine Arabic and two Persian, and noted as either caused to be copied, or otherwise acquired by him from 1617 to 1619 ; whilst others in the collection have their titles inscribed in his handwriting.

In the *Appendix to the Scoti-Chronicon and Monasticon* by the Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, 1867, (forming in fact Vol. IV. of Gordon's *Scotichronicon*), p. 617, there are alphabetically arranged accounts of Scotch Roman Catholics, and among these we find the following brief notice of *Georgius noster*.

"STRACHAN, GEORGE. From the Diocese of Brechin ; entered the Scots College, Rome, 1603. He became renowned for his learning, and travelled into the Eastern Countries. Thomas Dempster mentions his vast erudition ; but I could learn nothing more concerning him (*Abbé Macpherson's MS. Catalogue.*)"

My friend, Mr. Satow, on a recent visit to Rome made inquiry, at my request, of the authorities of the Scots College. The following was the only record regarding Strachan :

1602  
GEORGIUS STRACHAN,  
MERNIENSIS.

{ *Evasit deinde. In  
omni Scientiarū  
genere versatissimus.  
(In a later hand.)  
At videtur non  
accepisse ordines*

His name forms the seventh entry on the register, none being before 1602. Four entered after him in the same year.

The indication in Mr. Gordon's appendix sent me to Dempster. His work is entitled *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis SCOTORUM, Libri XIX.*, etc. Published at Bologna (*Bononiae*) 1627 ; 4to.

"GEORGE STRACHAN, native of the Mearns (printed *Meriuensis*) of a noble family, taught the classics at Paris in the *Collège du Mans*\* got attached to

\* This seems the interpretation of *docuit in Cenomannico*. *Cenomannum* was the Latin style for *Le Mans* ; and there was a *Collège du Mans* in Paris, founded in 1519 by Cardinal Ph. de Luxembourg, Bishop of Le



the Court, and weary of that life, preferred a private career; then devoted himself to the friendship and service of the Duc de Guise. But disliking also this manner of life, he set out for the East, that he might add a diligent study of the Oriental tongues to the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian, and French, which, with his native language, he already spoke and wrote with correctness.

"His writings consisted of (1) Greek and Latin Panegyrics, one book. (2) Various discourses in both languages, one book. (3) He made a Latin epitome, illustrated with notes, of the ccxiii. books of the Histories of Agatharcides, before Andreas Schottus published his Photius, and when the only existing edition was the Greek one of David Hoeschel. (4) He translated the orations of Antiphon the Athenian, and illustrated them with notes. (5) He treated the xxiv. books of Antonius Diogenes on the Incredible things of Thule with such ability as to make them credible. (6) Latin translation of Praxagoras the Athenian on the affairs of Constantine the Great. (7) Translation of the Declamation of Himerus the Sophist. (8) At my request he undertook the translation of the xii. books of Vindavius Anatolius of Berytus concerning instruction in agriculture. (9) Translation of the vi. books of Ptolomaeus Hephaestus. (10) Latin translation of Polemo the Sophist, with a valuable commentary. (11) Latin translation of Lucian's Dialogue on Slander.

"Some of these have been published; others are still on the anvil.

"He is still alive in Persia; for before this time he has spent full six years in visiting the Holy Land, and has not only acquired the languages, but, as he wrote to me, has ransacked the best collections of books."

We do not know the date of Dempster's writing these words, but if we did it would add nothing to our knowledge of Strachan's history; for Dempster's knowledge was certainly not later than our own through the authorities we have cited. His book was published as above in 1627, but he died in 1625.

Dempster is often a very questionable authority, but he implies personal acquaintance and correspondence with George Strachan, and our collections regarding the latter would have been incomplete without this very queer list of his literary productions. Most of them seem to be mere scholastic exercises; nor can I find any notice of him as a Latin writer in the *Bibliotheca* of Fabricius, or other works of the kind accessible to me.

There is no mention of George Strachan in Rogers's Mans. It was shut up owing to deficient endowment in 1613, and the Jesuits bought the buildings at a later date (*Dulaure Hist. de Paris*, 1839, III. 350.

*Memorials of the Scottish Families of Strachan and Wise*; privately printed [1877]; nor in (Jervise's) *Memorials of Angus and Mearns*; Edin. 1885.

Here, then, I must take leave of this traveller, scholar, and fellow-countryman *qui caruit adhuc vate sacro!* But before doing so let me knit up the chronology of what we have gathered concerning him.

Entered the Scots College at Rome	...	...	...	...	1602
Was at Constantinople <i>circa</i>	...	...	...	...	1610-12
Was at Aleppo and joined the Arabs <i>circa</i>	...	...	...	...	1615
Finishes reading the Arabic Gospel in the Desert				January	1616
Is at Bagdad <i>circa</i>	...	...	...	...	1618
Is engaged to join the English Factory at Ispahan				June	1619
Is ill at Shiraz with a bad attack of fever	...	...	...	May	1620
Is dismissed from service	...	...	...	August	1620
But reinstated some months later	...	...	...	...	1621
Arrives from Ispahan at Gombroon, in confidential					
employment of the English	...	...	...	October	1622
Again violently attacked with fever, and departs for					
Lar and Ispahan	...	...	...	November	1622

We hear of him no more. But the existence of the volumes of MSS. in the Naples Library indicates the probability of his having returned from the East.

H. YULE.

## FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN EASTERN ASIA.

SHALL France or England obtain the trade of South-Western China, is a question now rapidly approaching solution. Trade follows the flag! The French and English are shoulder to shoulder on the southern frontier of China! Which flag shall it follow? Trade follows the cheapest route! The French are pushing forward their railway from the Tonquin seaboard to Yunnan! Are we going to follow suit from our Burmese seaboard? If not, we let the French have the trade.

At the meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, held in November last year, to hear Mr. Colquhoun's address on the railway connection of Burmah and China, Mr. Hugh M. Matheson, the chairman of the East India and China trade section, remarked that: "Within a comparatively recent period British merchants had been called upon to face an amount of serious competition in the East formerly unknown, and it could not be denied that the establishment of the French in Tonquin, and the favourable conditions obtained by them from the Government of China for entrance into the south-western portion of that vast empire, were deserving of our careful attention. These facts ought to stimulate us to turn to account with as little delay as possible the important acquisition of Upper Burmah; and any definite scheme which would lead to the establishment of railway communication between Burmah and China, ought to receive the serious and early attention of British merchants and of the British Government."

The Burmah-Siam-China railway has been proposed by

Mr. Colquhoun and myself to enable British merchants to compete with the French on equal terms for the trade of South-Western China, the Shan States, and Siam. I propose in this article to give, first, a short history of the occurrences which have given rise to the competition between England and France for the extension of their commerce in these regions; secondly, a general description of the country, and the reasons that have led us to the selection of the route for the proposed British railway.

By the treaty which was signed on the 3rd of January, 1826, at the close of our first war with Burmah, it was declared that Assam, Manipur, and Cachar, which were formerly tributary to Burmah, were independent of it; and that Aracan, and the Tenasserim provinces of Maulmain, Tavoy, and Mergui, were ceded to the British. We thus came into possession of the portion of the Burmese seaboard which borders Siam and the Siamese Shan States.

In 1829, three years after its annexation, Lord William Bentinck sent a mission under Dr. Richardson from Maulmain into the Siamese Shan States, with the view of developing overland trade with them. The mission met with a friendly reception from the Shan chiefs of Zimmé, Lapoon, and Lakon, and the Chinese traders met with in the country expressed their eagerness for the re-opening and improvement of the golden road of trade between their homes in Yunnan and our Burmese seaport of Maulmain.

Owing to the favourable report given by Dr. Richardson of his reception, the celebrated Captain Sprye in 1831 urged upon the East India Company the advisability of opening up overland commerce *viâ* the Siamese Shan States and Kiang Hung with South-Western China. Having fully considered the matter in Council, Lord Auckland, then Governor-General of India, in 1835 ordered a mission to be despatched under Captain McLeod through the Siamese Shan States to the "frontier towns of

China, with the view of opening a commercial intercourse with the traders of the nation."

From A.D. 1306 to 1774 the Siamese Shan States were, except in times of rebellion, tributary to Burmah or to Pegu. In the latter year they threw off the Burmese yoke and placed themselves under Siam. At the time of Richardson's and McLeod's missions, and indeed up to the time that we annexed Upper Burmah and its Shan States, the Siamese Government feared lest the Burmese should again assert their supremacy. For this reason the King of Siam was averse to through communication being opened up between the Burmese Shan States and those under Siam. Nevertheless, McLeod's mission was allowed to proceed to Kiang Tung and Kiang Hung, where it found the Burmese Shan chiefs very favourably inclined towards the British and eager for trade with our dominions.

At that time the barrier of Chinese exclusiveness had not been broken down. McLeod therefore had to return from Kiang Hung without penetrating into China.

By the treaty of 1826, only "Asiatic merchants of the English countries, not being Burmese, Peguans, or descendants of Europeans desiring to enter into and to trade with the Siamese Dominions," were "allowed to do so freely overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates," and it was not until after the signing of the treaties of 1855-56 that Siam and the Shan States were thrown open to our Burmese fellow-subjects and to Europeans. By these treaties the King of Siam consented to the appointment of a British Consul at his capital, and granted entire liberty of commerce to English merchants in all the maritime districts of his empire. All duties were lowered, trade monopolies were abolished, and English traders were allowed to purchase all the productions of the country direct from the producer. Europeans were permitted to settle at Bangkok, to hold landed property there, build or purchase houses, and to lease land, and full toleration in religious matters was guaranteed.

In 1852, at the close of the second Burmese war, we annexed the two remaining seaboard provinces of Burmah, Martaban, and Pegu, and the attention of Government was turned to find a route from Rangoon or Maulmain *viâ* Kiang Hung to South-West China by some direction which would not necessitate passage through Siamese territories, as it was believed that the king was still averse to communication being opened up through his territory with the Burmese Shan States. Survey after survey, exploration after exploration, proved the utter impracticability of carrying a railway either up the valley of the Salween, or across from Upper Burmah to the valley of the Meh Kong, the great river which threads the western portion of Yunnan and the Burmese Shan States. The Bhamo route was proved to be impracticable by the Grosvenor-Baber mission; the Theinne route by the various Burmese Embassies that had traversed it; the Hlinedet Tacaw ferry route to Kiang Hung by Dr. Cushing; and the Salween and other routes by various government expeditions. Thus when Mr. Colquhoun and I took up the question in 1881, our attention was turned in the direction of the old route through the Siamese Shan States that was first proposed by Captain Sprye in 1831.

Since 1856, owing perhaps to French action in Indo-China, Siam had sought the friendship of England. In 1871 the present King of Siam visited Burmah and Calcutta, and was much impressed with the prosperity and modern improvements which he saw in our Indian dominions. On his return, he determined, as soon as possible, to gradually improve the condition of his subjects and his relations with England. In 1874 a treaty was made between England and Siam, chiefly in connection with British interests in the Siamese Shan States. By this treaty, duties were allowed to be levied on goods crossing the Burmah-Siam frontier. These duties were abolished by mutual agreement last year, with the stipulation that salt and other articles produced in Siam, which are subject to an

excise duty in India, shall be imported into the Queen's Indian dominions at the same rate of duty. The Burmese Shan States, which have now come under our own dominion, have always allowed goods and traders to pass free from imposts through their country.

In 1876 the Chefoo Convention was signed, by which it was agreed to frame regulations for the conduct of frontier trade between Burmah and Yunnan; and in 1886 a Convention was signed at Peking and ratified on the 25th of August, 1887, by which it was agreed that "the conditions of frontier trade to be settled by a Frontier Trade Convention, both countries agreeing to protect and encourage trade between China and Burmah." There therefore remains no political difficulty whatever to prevent the connection of Burmah Siam and China by railway. All the obstacles have been removed which formerly blocked the extension of our trade through Siam to China.

I will now turn to the origin and development of French action in Indo-China. In 1858, thirty-two years after we had annexed the Burmese province of Tenasserim, and six years after we had taken possession of Pegu and Martaban, a Franco-Spanish expedition was directed against the Annamite possessions in Cochin-China. In 1862 peace was signed between Annam and France, the terms including the cession of the three provinces Mytho, Saigon, and Bienhoa to France. In 1867 three other provinces were annexed by Admiral de la Grandière. These six provinces form what is now known as French Cochin-China. A year later Cambodia, then a tributary of Siam, was seized by France, and declared to be under French protection.

Meanwhile the French Expedition of 1866-68 had been despatched up the Meh Kong or Cambodia River, in the hope of finding it navigable for steamers not only to the Southern frontier of China, but into and through the Western Chinese provinces Yunnan and Ssuehuan. The upshot of the exploration is tersely described by M. de Carné, as follows: "Steamers can never plough the Meh

Kong ; and Saigon can never be united to the western provinces of China by this immense river-way."

• The Meh Kong having been proved impracticable for steam-carriage, all ideas of connecting Saigon with South-West China had to be given up. Garnier, the commander of the expedition after Captain de Lagrée's death, however, was still bent upon tracing out some approach to that wealthy country along which its commerce and that of Central Indo-China might be made to flow solely into French hands. Burmese British subjects were met with everywhere throughout his journey along the Meh Kong, vending English goods which they had purchased in British Burmah and Bangkok: these traders had come long wearisome journeys—surely they could be supplanted by French subjects if a safe short and easy route from the eastern coast could be discovered and opened out. We can imagine his exultation when he learnt, on reaching Yuen-Kiang in Yunnan, that the Ho-ti-Kiang or Red River, which has its source near Talifu, was not only the upper course of the Song-coi or Red River, the chief river of Tonquin, but was also navigable from Muang Ko, or Manhao, a town in the south-east of Yunnan, to the sea. This intelligence was the germ of the after action of the French in Tonquin, which led to its annexation by France in 1885. Having got possession of the country, it was found that the river was useless for the carriage of any considerable volume of traffic, and a French Commission was appointed on the 18th of March, 1887, to inquire into and report upon a system of railways for opening out Tonquin and connecting it with the neighbouring countries. On the 29th of August, 1887, the report of this Commission was published in the *Journal Officiel*.

The line to Yunnan which we are here more particularly concerned with, as it is intended to compete with and oust British trade from Central Indo-China and South-Western China, is thus referred to in the Report: "This line will enter Yunnan in the centre, and drain the larger part of the



currents (of trade), which have a tendency to disperse, on one side by the Yang-Tse and Sikiang to the ports of Shanghai, Canton, Hong Kong, and Pakhoi on the China Seas ; on the other by the Meh Kong, Salween, Irrawaddi, and even the Brahmaputra, towards the ports of the Bay of Bengal."

The Commission advised that the infrastructure which comprises the earthworks and bridges should be carried out by the French Colonial Government in Tonquin by *corvée* labour, and that the remainder of the work should be given to a Company who would contract to carry out and complete the work according to such schedule of rates as might be previously agreed upon, and work the line, sharing the profits, when they exceed the guarantee, with the Government, the guarantee to be the same as that granted on the Algerian lines. The Government was to be allowed to borrow from the Company, at six per cent for ninety years, any money required for the infrastructure.

The Commission recommended that two-thirds of the Directorate should be Frenchmen, and that the central offices should be in France or in French Indo-China. With such favourable terms offered to the money market, it is not surprising to find that the railways were eagerly sought for, and were shortly afterwards commenced. In the issue of *The London and China Telegraph* of January 23, 1888, an extract was given from the *Avenir du Tonkin*, stating that "M. Berger, Acting Resident-General, accompanied by M. Dupont, Engineer of Public Works, has gone to Along Bay to examine the progress of the work for the railway which is to terminate at Hongay."

Railways are being made by the Chinese in Formosa, the line from the Kaiping collieries *via* Taku to Tientsin is rapidly approaching completion, and the Marquis Tseng has recently proposed the construction of a railway in Peking. In *The Times* of the 17th of May, 1887, an extract was given from the memorial of Prince Chun to the Empress-Regent, which marks the commencement in

earnest of railway construction in China. Referring to the Kaiping-Tientsin Railway, the memorial states that "in the autumn the new war vessels ordered from England and Germany should reach China, and next year the memorialist, I-Huan, will proceed to the seaports, and with Li-Hung-Chang and his colleagues arrange for the formation of the first division of the navy. They can at the same time inspect the railway. If it is found to be useful and free from objections, they would suggest that similar plans be put into operation in the various mining districts of the country." The most valuable mining districts of China are situated in the province of Yunnan. From this province the tin and copper for the cash which forms the sole native currency of China has been obtained for ages. The Chinese Government has lately employed nine Japanese mining metallurgists, experts, and engineers, three of whom are engineers who have acquired their scientific knowledge in Europe, to inspect and work the copper mines in this province. These are to be worked by the latest modern methods of mining, and the ores treated by the modern foreign process.

The copper is required for the purpose of the Chinese mints, as the Viceroys and Governors throughout China have applied to the Imperial Government to be allowed to coin copper money.

It would be an enormous benefit to the Chinese Government if modern machinery, which alone can work these mines at a reasonable expense, could be imported into this province; and it is highly probable that from the terminus of the railway, French or English, that may reach the Yunnan frontier first, a system of railways will be commenced and carried into the mining districts of this province, which will ultimately be continued through the neighbouring land-locked provinces of the western half of China.

The French railway from Tonquin, if carried to Yunnan Fu, would be considerably, perhaps one hundred miles, shorter than the one proposed by us from our British Burmese seaport of Maulmain; but this would be fully

compensated by the fact that the Maulmain line would enjoy five great advantages over the Tonquin route :— Maulmain is nearer Europe by 2,100 miles, and nearer India by 2,800 miles; the Maulmain route avoids the necessity of the dangerous navigation of the China seas, and passes generally through richer, more peaceable, and better populated country. But the greatest advantage of all for our merchants, manufacturers, and artisans, lies in the fact that at Maulmain our merchandise would pass free into the country, whilst an average tariff of  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. is being levied upon our goods at the French ports in Indo-China.

According to Sir Charles Bernard, the late Chief Commissioner of Burmah, the population of Upper and Lower Burmah, together with that of the British Shan States, comprises some 9,000,000 souls. The import trade of Burmah amounts in value to about £7,000,000 sterling; half of this trade is Indian produce from the Indian Peninsula, and the remainder foreign and British. The Indian produce consumed by Burmah is valued at about £3,500,000, and the British at £2,500,000. Practically the whole amount of this imported produce is consumed in Burmah and the British Shan States; in fact, so little crosses the border into Siam and the Shan States that it is not even thought necessary to mention the amount in the Government statistics. We may therefore assume that, even with the present very defective communications in Burmah, and the absence of navigable rivers and even cart-roads in the Shan States, £3,500,000 worth of Indian produce and £2,500,000 worth of British produce are consumed yearly by the 9,000,000 inhabitants of the country. We thus have a basis upon which to calculate the probable amount of Indian and British produce which would be consumed by 112,000,000 people inhabiting regions to the east of Burmah if communication was so far facilitated by the construction of railways as to enable machine-made goods to compete with hand-made manufactures in their country. By cal-

culating this simple sum out we shall find that these 112,000,000 fresh customers would consume nearly £44,000,000 worth of Indian produce, and £31,000,000 worth of British manufactures, or a greater amount of the latter than is now taken by Burmah and India together.

We will now suppose that the line from Maulmain to the Chinese frontier is not made, and that the trade of the country is allowed to be drawn by French railways to French ports; in this case the traffic in manufactures would either have to pass into French hands conveying only French manufactures into the country, or  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. would have to be paid upon £75,000,000 worth of British and British Indian manufactures. This would give a revenue of over £28,000,000 a year out of British pockets to the French Government of Tonquin.

When we find that goods increase in value after transit from Maulmain to Yunnan Fu, a distance of 881 miles, by £201 17s. a ton, or double the value of average piece goods in England, it is evident that unless the British line from Maulmain is made to compete with the French line, British merchants would have to choose the lesser evil and carry their goods through Tonquin by the French railway, even though the present tariff of  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. was doubled or even trebled.

The construction of the British railway would be advantageous to the Chinese Government and people as well as to the United Kingdom and India. The material for the Chinese railways in Western China would pass over a British line from a British port, and would naturally come from this country. The cost of railway material and mining and irrigating machinery to the Chinese Government, and of general merchandise to the Chinese people would not be enhanced  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. by the customs levied by the French on foreign goods entering Tonquin.

Then consider the facilities that our railway would afford for increasing the very sparse population of Burmah and the British Shan States, and thus developing the

trade, prosperity, and wealth of the country. The most populous districts in the East of China are those protected by huge embankments, built to keep out the waters of the rivers, which rise in flood seasons many feet above the level of the plains. These plains in the eastern half of China are of enormous size, and stretching from the seaboard are separated from the western half of China by a series of mountain chains, through which the rivers have burst in terrific cliff-bound gorges. A breach of the embankments causes great loss of life, food, and property, and consequent misery, and at times famine to rage in the country. The country in the western half of China lying at a higher level is not subject to such inundations, its people are therefore much more prosperous and well-to-do, better housed, better fed, and better dressed than their eastern neighbours.

Thus ever since the extinction of the Taiping rebellion in 1865, and the quelling of the Mahomedan rebellion which raged in Yunnan from 1856 to 1873, a constant stream of emigration has been setting westwards into the rich provinces of Ssuchuan, Kweichau, and Yunnan. The nearest province, Ssuchuan, is already over-populated, and the people have for some years been crowded out of it, together with immigrants from the neighbouring provinces of Hunan and Hupeh, into the more sparsely populated provinces of Yunnan and Kweichau.

The great want of Burmah, the Shan States, and Siam, is population. It is simply owing to this want that not one-twentieth part of these naturally fertile countries is at present under cultivation. The Chinese are beyond question the finest population in Asia. They are akin to Burmese and Shans in religion and tastes, and amalgamate happily with them, improving the qualities of each race. A Burmese woman prefers an industrious Chinaman to a happy-go-lucky Burman as a husband. He is more thrifty and hard-working, and will keep her in greater affluence. Chinese fear emigration even less than the English do. Half the population, agricultural and urban, in the plains of

Southern Siam are Chinese from the maritime provinces of China. Chinese traders, gardeners, shoe-makers, blacksmiths, and carpenters swarm in the seaports of Burmah. It only remains for us to tap the agricultural population and ever-increasing immigrants to Yunnan by a railway connected with Maulmain, to ensure a large inland immigration of Chinese peasants into Burmah.

It is well known in Burmah that the numerous British Burmese who traverse Siam and its Shan States in all directions, carrying our merchandise, purchasing elephants, cattle, and buffaloes, and engaged in forest operations, are absolutely freer from danger in those countries than they are even in Lower Burmah; and all travellers allow that the rich caravans passing from Siam through the British Shan States to China are protected and encouraged by the Shan Chiefs, and have always passed free from attack. During my explorations I met and conversed with many of the chiefs of the Siamese Shan States, without exception they were delighted with the prospect of a railway being constructed through their States, and assured me that they would do all in their power to forward its construction. In the words of one of the Princes of Lakon:—"Trade was as life-blood to the chiefs and people, a railway would greatly increase trade and the wealth of the countries through which it passed." The old chief of Zimmé said he was an old man, he hoped that the railway would soon be undertaken, as he would otherwise lose the delight of seeing it.

In connection with the subject of French and English competition for the trade of South-Eastern Asia, it will be well to compare the value of their present exports to China and Siam. The French exports to China in 1885 were valued at £160,000, whilst those from the United Kingdom and British India together were valued at £23,456,846. The British exports to China were therefore 146 times as large as those of France. The British stake in Siam was thus alluded to by Mr. Satow, our Minister in Siam,

in a letter to Earl Granville, dated Bangkok, May 7, 1885 :—

“The direct trade with Europe is in most years extremely small, and it is only in consequence of the large export of rice in 1884 that we find the sum of £250,000 credited to Europe. Nine-elevenths of the total export trade, valued at nearly £1,650,000, is with Hong Kong and Singapore, and must contribute greatly to the prosperity of those two colonies. Of the imports, about £340,000 represents English manufactures; £200,000 products of British India; while Hong Kong sends goods, partly of British, partly of Chinese origin, to about the same value. From the Straits Settlements produce is imported to the value of £22,000, making in all £762,000, or over three-quarters of a million sterling. The imports from the continent of Europe are valued at £164,000, and from the United States £50,000. If we suppose the imports from Hong Kong to be equally divided between goods of British and Chinese origin, the result will be, articles produced in Great Britain and British possessions to the value of £640,000, against £314,000 from the continent of Europe, the United States, and China combined. The commercial interests of Great Britain in Siam, as compared with the rest of the world, are consequently : In fixed capital, as 2 to 1; in steamers, as 8 to 1; in exports, as 9 to 2; in imports, as 2 to 1. It is further to be noted that the import duties are only 3 per cent., *ad valorem*. If Siam proper were to pass into the hands of any European Power with protectionist tendencies, it cannot be doubted that the tariff would be greatly increased, and it is by no means improbable, if we are to judge by what has been proposed with regard to the trade of Tonquin, that differential duties would be imposed to the disadvantage of British trade.”

Of the 180 vessels that entered Bangkok in 1884, only two were French. French trade in Siam is so insignificant as to claim no separate mention in the statistics.

Besides the interests we have in Siam mentioned by Mr. Satow, we must remember that our fellow-subjects in Siam number 10,000 souls; that every pedler in the country—Chinaman, Tounghoo, Shan, and Burmese—is a British subject, born either in our colonies, or in Burmah; that upwards of 40,000 cattle, besides numbers of elephants and buffaloes, are yearly purchased in Siam and taken by land into Burmah; and that the valuable teak forests in Siam and its Shan States are worked by our fellow-subjects. When we consider the vast stake we have in Siam, so superior to that of any other nation, and to that of the rest of the world combined, we must naturally be extremely

averse to letting its trade pass from us into French hands ; to allowing a customs duty of  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to be levied upon British merchandise by the French at the Siamese seaports. Nearly all the foreign interests in that country are at present British ; the railway to China would only be one more British interest to protect. We have seen what a very insignificant interest France has at present in the trade of China ; and have pointed out that the French line from Tonquin to Yunnan is intended to develop French trade at the expense of that of other nations. The only method by which we can checkmate French designs and ensure the development of our trade in South-Eastern Asia, is by the construction of the Burmah-Siam-China Railway.

In order to get a general idea of the country lying between the Brahmaputra River and Chungking, the commercial emporium of the Chinese province of Ssuehuan, it will be well to fix the mind upon the great snow-clad chain of the Himalaya Mountains which forms the southern border of the great tableland of Tibet, and lies immediately to the north of our Indian possessions. Under various names, this mighty chain of mountains continues, broken through by the Brahmaputra, Salween, Meh Kong, and Yang-Tse Rivers, throughout Western Ssuehuan as far as the basin of the Min River, when, turning northwards, it proceeds, still snow-clad, until it impinges upon the lofty chain of mountains which form the great water-parting between the Yang-Tse and Yellow Rivers. The chain of the Himalayas thus forms the eastern as well as the southern flank of the great tableland of Tibet.

Indo-China is the comprehensive term now applied to the south-eastern section of Asia, lying to the south of China Proper, and between the Indian Ocean and China Sea. It is a huge arm thrown out from the extension of the Himalaya, which skirts the south-eastern flank of the Tibetan plateau, and at one time seems to have consisted of plateaux in terraces, gradually decreasing southwards, and divided into compartments by mountains and their



spurs. At the extremity of the arm ran out fingers of hills which enclosed large bays, since partially filled up by the detritus brought down by the rivers now forming their deltas. Above these deltas the country at one time was evidently lacustrine, but underground passages were gradually formed through the impounding hills, earth motion created rifts in the country, and the lakes were drained by the issuing torrents, which gradually destroyed portions of the plateaux, leaving a maze of generally table-topped mountains.

The general trend of the mountain chains and river valleys is north to south ; while in India it is east to west. The country is divided into three natural divisions or basins—the westernmost drained by the Irrawaddi, Sittang, and Salween rivers, into the Bay of Bengal (known politically as Burmah) ; the central drained by the Meh Kong and Meh Nam into the Gulf of Siam ; the easternmost by the Song-coi and other minor streams which fall into the Gulf of Tonquin and China Sea. The rivers are separated from each other by parallel ranges of mountains and a multitude of main spurs, generally running in the same direction. The intervening longitudinal river and stream valleys are in places contracted by narrow gorges, between which lie extensive alluvial plains, and below the gorges the rivers pass through vast plains which gradually develop into extensive and rich deltas. Our Burmese dominions are divided into three portions—Lower Burmah, Upper Burmah, and the Shan States on the plateaux to the east of the Upper Irrawaddi. Upper Burmah and the British Shan States lie wedged in between India and China, the Siamese Shan States, and Tonquin, and, bordering China on the south and west, separate the land-locked western half of China from the sea and from India. Bounding Burmah on the north lies the snow-clad extension of the Himalaya mountains, from which springs the great terraced bulwark of mountains and plateaux which form the western half of Ssuchuan, and, gradually descending in height, the

whole of Yunnan and the portion of Indo-China to the south of it. This extension of the Himalayas and parts of the first terrace to the south of it are snow-clad as far south as the latitude of Tali-Fu, and are cut through by deep ravines, in which run the upper waters of the Salween, Meh Kong, and Yang-Tse rivers. From Yunnan, which lies on the second terrace of the great bulwark, in the angle made by the Yang-Tse and the Meh Kong, diverge the basins of the Sikiang (or Canton River) and the Song-coi (or Red River), to the latter of which Tonquin corresponds geographically.

Through Western Yunnan run in deep north and south abysses the rivers Salween and Meh Kong, which above their deltas are quite unnavigable for the greater part of their course. Both pass through the Burmese Shan States. The Meh Kong, after continuing through Eastern Siam and Cambodia, falls into the sea in French Cochin-China. The Salween falls into the Gulf of Martaban. The hills to the west of the Salween die down in the neighbourhood of Beeling, and the hills to the east of that river, gradually lowering, become easy to cross in the neighbourhood of Maulmain.

The main routes that have been proposed at various times for the connection of Burmah and China are—(1) the Bhamo route; (2) the Mandalay route; (3) the Salween route; (4) the Hlinedet route; and (5) lastly, that proposed by Mr. Colquhoun and myself.

The route from Bhamo to Tali and Yunnan Fu has been traversed since 1875 by various travellers, including Mr. Colquhoun in 1881. In 1876 Mr. Colborne Baber, Chinese Secretary to the Peking Legation, who accompanied the Grosvenor Mission, reported as follows: "It seems hopeless to think of making it practicable for wheel carriages. The valleys, or rather the abysses, of the Salween and Meh Kong must long remain insuperable difficulties, not to mention many other obstacles. By piercing half a dozen Mont Cenis tunnels and erecting a few Menai

bridges, the road from Burmah to Yunnan Fu could doubtless be much improved." If laid out with a gradient of 100 feet per mile, the line would be 967 miles long, the crow-line distance being only 360. As Bhamo will be distant 600 miles by rail from Rangoon, the total distance by rail from Rangoon, *viâ* Bhamo to Yunnan Fu, would be 1,567 miles, or more than 600 miles longer than our proposed line from Maulmain to Yunnan Fu, and fully 700 miles longer than the French line from Tonquin to the same place. The cost of carriage over an extra 600 miles of railway would tell greatly against the development of trade. For one customer that could buy goods carried over a railway from Bhamo to Yunnan Fu, ten purchasers would be found for goods brought by the 600 miles shorter railway from Maulmain. The cost of the Bhamo line, owing to the nature of the country to be traversed, would be at least three times as expensive as one leading from Maulmain; and whatever the through trade along such a line might be, the local traffic in the mountainous region that it would traverse could never greatly increase. Mule caravans take forty-two days in proceeding from Bhamo to Yunnan Fu. Every traveller who has traversed this route has dwelt upon its insuperable difficulties. Its advocates (if any) are confined to those who have not been over the ground, and who seemingly have not studied the reports of those who have done so.

The route from Mandalay to Yunnan Fu, *viâ* Theinne, is thus remarked upon by Dr. C. Williams in his work "Through Burmah to Western China":—"The Irrawaddi conducts you to within twenty miles of the passes into the Shan plateau. These passes, however, I believe to be quite impracticable for either rail or tramway. In 1861, passing along the westernmost ridges of the mountains where the Theinne route pierces them, I had to go by paths at a height of over 5,000 feet above the river flats. I have been up and down the western face of the range in that neighbourhood by four different routes, each of them

precipitous, and not only at present impracticable, but, as far as one without engineering experience can judge, it appears impossible to make them available for any kind of rail, or even tramway, without an expenditure far beyond what it is possible to suppose can be reasonably devoted to the purpose." The Theinne route, according to the report of the Burmese Embassy to Peking in 1787, after proceeding 416 miles, in which it crossed forty-five hills, five large rivers, and twenty-one streams, joins the Bhamo route at Yung-Chang (Maing' Chang), a place in the Yunnan province west of the Mekong, and thus encounters the worst difficulties of the Bhamo route.

The Salween River route, after a series of explorations, is known to be impracticable. Dr. Richardson, on his way from Maulmain to Mandalay, *viâ* Karennee, says (*vide* McLeod's and Richardson's Journals, p. 113): "The Salween, till within sixty or eighty miles of its mouth, is said to be one of the most impracticable rivers in this part of the country, with its bed full of falls and rapids, so as to render it dangerous in many, impassable in some, parts, and its banks abrupt mountains, with very few valleys or spots favourable for the habitation of man." Dr. Richardson's information is borne out by that of succeeding travellers. Captains Williams and Luard, in their report dated June 15, 1867, stated that the Salween valley was "barren and too narrow to admit of improvement by cultivation. From the report of Captain Watson and Mr. Fedden of the same valley in higher latitudes, no improvement in this respect may be looked for beyond British territory. We therefore propose that the route should, on reaching the Kaimaphyoo Choung, bear westward to the Mobyai Valley, ascend it, and thence across the Salween at the Takaw Ferry, to Theinne, or such other point north of Karennee as may be found to be best." They proposed that the portion of the railway constructed to our frontier along the Salween from the Mintabyee Choung should be executed "in side-cutting through limestone rock, at a height of about 50 feet above the Sal-

ween, and would thus continue up to the Pah Choung. In its course it would have to encounter the Padee Choung, which is about 150 yards wide at its mouth. This in the hot weather is the only stream met with, but there are many gullies in the hillsides which, though then dry, must in the rains become torrents for a few hours. For these, water-way would therefore be required."

As the hills in many places rise in cliffs direct from the bed of the river, the expense of construction places out of the question a railway up the desolate and unproductive ravine of the Salween to the Takaw Ferry, particularly when we consider how impracticable for railway construction the country is between the ferry and Kiang Hung.

The route *viâ* Hlinedet and Takaw Ferry to Kiang Hung has been traversed by Dr. Cushing from Hlinedet to Kiang Tung, and by Captain McLeod from Kiang Tung to Kiang Hung. In 1870 Dr. Cushing ascended the Hlinedet Pass to Poayhla, 3,600 feet above the sea, and proceeded to Monè, crossing four passes, one of which is 4,900 above sea-level. From Monè he passed over three ranges of hills, and descended to the Takaw Ferry, where the Salween is 800 feet wide and 870 feet above sea-level. Thence he crossed eight passes varying from 4,000 to 6,500 feet above sea-level, and descended 4,000 feet to the plain of Kiang Tung. In 1837 McLeod crossed five ranges of hills when journeying from Kiang Tung to Kiang Hung. The ascent of these hills is necessary, as, owing to the country having been lacustrine in its formation, the streams generally break through the hills in cliff-bound defiles or disappear in underground passages, thus passing from valley to valley. Hlinedet is about 300 miles distant by railway from Rangoon. If aligned at 100 feet per mile, the distance from Hlinedet to Kiang Hung would be considerably greater than from Maulmain to the same place. Considering the great cost of a line across such a mountainous country, and the distance of Hlinedet from Rangoon, this line, which would be the cheapest of the rival lines

proceeding from Upper Burmah to Yunnan Fu, could never compete with the cheaper and shorter railway from Maulmain. Owing to these difficulties, Kiang Hung by this route would be at least 300 miles further from the sea than by the far cheaper railway which would connect it with Maulmain. No easier or shorter route than the Hlinedet is known to exist as far south as Kiang Hsen (on the Meh Kong River), and Kiang Hsen, and through it South-West China, can be easily and cheaply approached through a fertile and peaceable region from our seaport of Maulmain.

By starting from this point we shall escape the maze of hills lying between the Salween and the Irrawaddi; avoid the very difficult country on the Hlinedet, Mandalay, and Bhamo routes; have a much shorter line to the seaboard; and shall be able to tap the Shan States of Burmah and Siam, as well as the south-western provinces of China. The line we propose from Maulmain to Ssumao is the only one of the rival British routes which could possibly compete with the French line from Tonquin for the trade of South-West China.

The total length of the proposed line from Maulmain *viâ* Raheng to Ssumao is 703 miles, and the estimated cost for its construction £4,728,750. Of the total length, 80 miles lies in our Burmese dominions; 383 miles partly in Siam and partly in the Siamese Shan States; and 240 miles in the British Shan States. The British portion of the railway in Burmah is estimated to cost £743,750. The portion through Siam and its Shan States, £2,197,500; and the portion through the British Shan States, £1,787,500. The branch from Raheng to Bangkok, 268 miles in length, is estimated at £1,340,000. This branch, however, forms no part of the proposed through line to China. The through line, besides opening up the country in its neighbourhood, is the one best adapted to draw local traffic from the whole of Central Indo-China. Leading from Maulmain, a town of 53,000 inhabitants and the centre of a district containing 300,000 souls, it proceeds in an easterly

direction past several villages to the Siamese frontier, and thence to Raheng, an important Siamese town containing about 21,000 inhabitants, and the chief town of a province with a population of between 200,000 and 300,000. From Raheng it proceeds northwards, passing through and approximately bi-secting the Siamese Shan States, which contain upwards of 2,000,000 inhabitants. In these States it passes through 139 towns and villages, including the chief towns of Tern, Lakon, Ngow, Penyow, Hpan, Kiang Hai, and Kiang Hsen; and in the immediate neighbourhood of many other places. This portion of the railway will likewise draw the trade of the following important commercial centres which lie at the undermentioned distances from the line: Muang Peh, 3 days; Muang Fang, 3 days; Muang Nan, 4 days; Lapoon, 2 days; Zimmé, 3 days; Ootaradit, 5 days; and Luang Prabang, 6 days. Between Kiang Hsen and Ssumao, the frontier post of China, the line will pass along the Meh Kong River near many important towns and villages, in a region celebrated for the fertility of its rice-plains and the extent of its teak forests and cotton and tea plantations. No accurate statistics can be given of the population of these States, but it most likely consists of from one and a half to two and a half million souls.

The branch line from Raheng to Bangkok will pass through the centre of the rich plains and delta of Siam proper, containing about 5,000,000 inhabitants. Between Raheng and Bangkok, 288 villages and towns are situated on the river banks, and for many miles above Bangkok the villages are continuous. Bangkok contains 500,000 inhabitants. As the railway would be constructed through the country neighbouring the river, the line would be certain to be highly remunerative—both from local and through traffic. The through trade between Bangkok and Maulmain, both for passengers and goods, would greatly add to the receipts of the line. If the branch line to Bangkok is constructed, the British line from the Siamese frontier to Maulmain will draw a large through traffic from Bangkok.

as well as from the Shan States and South-Western China. The Burmese line between Rangoon and Prome, 162 miles in length, which was opened in 1878, connected the seaport of Rangoon, containing 134,176 inhabitants, with the town of Prome containing 28,813 inhabitants, and passed for fully two-thirds of its length through an unfertile country covered with scrub-jungle. On the whole length of the railway there were not more than six villages; and the line was in competition with the admirable flotilla of steamers plying on the Irrawaddi River. Yet this line paid last year a net profit of about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. upon the cost of its construction.

With such results before us we can have no doubt that the Burmah-Siam-China Railway, when constructed, will prove very much more remunerative than the Rangoon and Prome line, both from local and through traffic.

The extent of the caravan trade in the Shan States and the vast amount of goods and produce moving about the country is surprising, considering the present cost of carriage. Carriage down stream from Zimmé to Bangkok costs £9 5s.  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. a ton; the railway rate for carriage of grain this distance, assuming the same mileage charge as on the Rangoon and Toungoo Railway, would be ten times as cheap. Beyond Zimmé all navigation ceases, and carriage by land is compulsory; the cost of transit is therefore greatly enhanced. Two shillings and sixpence a ton per mile is the average cost for land transport of the grain in the Siamese Shan States which has to be moved from State to State in times of scarcity caused by local deficient rainfall.

When crossing the Loi Saket Pass, which lies to the north-east of Zimmé, I counted in one day 154 laden cattle and 111 porters. Between Kiang-Hsen and Lakon, I noted 670 laden cattle and upwards of 1,200 people going in the direction of Kiang-Hsen; many others had passed by other routes. Wherever we went, produce and merchandise were being conveyed by elephants, oxen, ponies, mules,



and porters. Besides the caravan traffic in European and Chinese goods, tobacco, pepper, paddy, betel-nuts, salt, dried fish, vegetable wax, cutch, sticklack, gum benjamin or benzoin, jaggery, tamarinds, tea, gamboge, liquorice, sarsaparilla, cocoa-nuts, black varnish, indigo and other dyes, and much other produce, are moved about the country, and form a local and through traffic that would greatly develop with the introduction of railways, and the ensuing decrease in the cost of transit, and certain increase that would occur in the cultivation and population of the country.

The hindrance placed upon the spread of our commerce by the present costly mode of conveyance is evidenced by the price of imported articles in the interior. The journey from Bangkok to Raheng in native boats takes 20 days in the height of the rains, and from 30 to 35 days in the dry season; salt, at the time of my visit, was three times as dear at Raheng as it was at Bangkok, and the year before it was enhanced to four times the price. The missionaries at Zimmé told me that salt fetched there upwards of six times what it did in Bangkok, and double what it does in Raheng. Caravan-men told me that the raw cotton purchased by them in the Shan States sold in Yunnan for four times the amount they paid for it. The wares brought with them consisted of opium, beeswax, walnuts, hats and hat-covers, brass pots, ox bells, silk goods, silk and fur jackets, silk trousers, figured cloth, straw hats, and tea, the latter from the British Shan States. They took back with them cotton, ivory, horns, feathers, tinsel plates, and European goods. In Maing-loongyee kerosine oil varies from six rupees to eight rupees a tin, the price in Maulmain being two and a half rupees. Tea was three times the Maulmain price. At Raheng, fast colour prints were selling for four rupees that had cost two rupees and eight annas in Bangkok. At Zimmé, broadcloth fetched thirty rupees that cost fifteen rupees in Maulmain. Iron chatties, bought for three rupees, sell for between six and seven. English goods purchased in Bang-

kok were selling in Zimmé at the following enhanced prices:—Green flannel, 50 per cent. ; black flannel, 50 per cent. ; red cotton yarn,  $34\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; matches,  $67\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. ; zinc pails, 260 per cent. ; candles, 40 per cent. ; kerosine oil, 55 per cent. ; sulphur, 57 per cent. ; iron bar,  $38\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; iron nails,  $55\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; lead, 75 per cent. ; caps, 40 per cent. ; shot, 37 per cent. ; powder,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; guns,  $27\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; muslins of various qualities, from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 35 per cent. ; and twist cloths, from  $19\frac{1}{2}$  to  $23\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; Chinese crockery cups were enhanced 50 per cent. ; and Chinese silk, 20 per cent. The exports from Zimmé to Bangkok were enhanced on their arrival as follows:—Large ivory tusks, 45 per cent. ; smaller tusks, 30 per cent. ; sticklac,  $42\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; opium, 41 per cent. ; cutch, 23 per cent. ; hides, 47 per cent. ; horns, 47 per cent. ; beeswax,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; honey, 100 per cent. ; nitre,  $33\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

Cocoa-nuts and betel-nuts do not thrive in the Shan States north of Zimmé or in Yunnan, and are carried there in great quantities. Cutch, lime, and betel-leaves are required for chewing with betel-nut. Tamarinds, chillies, and turmeric are required for curry, which with rice and fish forms the chief part of the food of the people. Fish are scarce in some parts, and plentiful in others ; dried fish, therefore, form a staple article of local traffic. Kerosine oil is displacing other lamp oils in China, Siam, and the Shan States. Salt is an absolute necessary, and is carried for great distances. Tobacco, tea, and cotton, will not grow in Yunnan, and thrive in some of the states better than in others ; these are likewise necessities for the people. In Siam as in Burmah, according to recent Government reports, European manufactures, owing to their cheapness, are displacing the produce of native looms. Everything points to the certainty of a large through and local trade along the proposed railway.

The King of Siam fully allows the urgent need for railways in Siam, and the Foreign Minister, Prince Devawongse, who is a brother of the king, and of both the right

and left-hand queens, assured me that the King of Siam was exceedingly anxious to have his country opened up by railways. Before leaving Bangkok in January, 1885, I was told by our Minister that it only remained for the Government of India to consent to make the branch to the frontier, to ensure the king's taking the matter of railways in hand; and he gave me to understand that the Siamese railways would be constructed to meet our branch line at the frontier.

The gross cost of the Siamese portion of the through line to China, 383 miles in length, is estimated at £2,197,500. Supposing that 4 per cent. guarantee was granted by the Siamese Government upon the gross cost of the railway, with the proviso that the profits in excess of the guarantee shall be divided in the ratio of three-fourths to the Siamese Government, and one-fourth to the Company; and that the line was divided into four sections, the first section being opened in the second year, the second in the third year, and the third and fourth in the fourth year; and that each section paid 1 per cent. in the first year after it was opened; 2 per cent. in the second year; 3 per cent. in the third year; 4 per cent. in the fourth year—the gross amount expended on guaranteeing the line would be only 13·81 per cent. of the gross cost of the railway, or £303,532 in all. The net receipts earned by the railway would more than cover the guarantee after the seventh year from the commencement of the line. In the same way, if the Indian Government prefers to guarantee, instead of constructing, its sections of the railway, the gross cost of guaranteeing the British line, 320 miles in length, on the expenditure of £2,531,250, would merely be £349,622, giving an average expenditure during the seven years in which the guarantee would be required of £49,946, or about a fifteenth of the surplus revenue that has been for many years paid by Lower Burmah into the Indian treasury after meeting all its expenses.

The gross cost of the guarantee on the branch line, 268 miles in length, from Raheng to Bangkok in the seven

years at 4 per cent. would be only £185,087, or considerably less than the cost of the earthwork required for the line between Raheng and Bangkok.

• All the civilized world is now competing with us for the trade of the East. German, American, Belgian, and Russian merchants are straining every nerve to push their trade at the Chinese Treaty Ports. Peking swarms with foreign syndicates hoping to gain concessions or contracts for the construction of Chinese railways. Russia is constructing a through line bordering China and Chinese possessions on the North. Russia and China are about to negotiate for the construction of the Semipalatinsk and Shanghai, the Chita and Peking, and the Kiakhta and Peking Railways, which will tend to draw the trade of Northern China to a Russian port on the China Sea. The French are at work on their Tonquin-Yunnan and Tonquin-Kwangsi Railways in order to draw the trade of Western and Central China to a French port in Tonquin.

For sixty-two years we have been neighbours of Siam and its Shan States. For sixty-two years we have done nothing towards developing our trade with them. Not a railway, not even a road, has been made to our eastern frontier. We have followed a policy of seclusion from our Eastern neighbours. We have forgotten that India and Burmah were annexed by British merchants not merely from humanitarian motives, but for the extension of our trade. With foreign competition for the vast free-trade markets of the East growing fiercer and fiercer every year, it is time that we should tighten our belts and make ready for the fight that is raging around us.

Only by the construction of the Burmah-Siam-China Railway can we obtain the trade of South-Western China. It will be a disastrous blunder if, from procrastination, want of foresight, want of backbone, or from a penny-wise, pound-foolish policy, we allow that trade to pass into the hands of our French rivals.

HOLT S. HALLETT.

## ASSAM AND THE INDIAN TEA TRADE.

THE jubilee of the tea industry in Assam was coincident with that of Her Majesty, since it was in the opening year of her reign that the first samples of tea grown in her remote dependency reached the English market. The growth of the trade during the half-century of its existence has effected a commercial revolution, and the year 1887 saw for the first time the tea imports from India and Ceylon for one month exceed those from China in the proportion of 51 to 49. One of the many results of this far-reaching change has been to convert a region originally regarded as a useless incumbrance to the Indian Empire, into one likely to play an important part in the economic evolution of the future.

The earliest historical glimpses of Assam show it ruled by the Hindu dynasty of Kamrup, still represented by the Maharaja of Kuch Behar, with dominions very much curtailed. The Kamrup rulers were swept away in about 1228, by irruptions from the East of a race called Ahoms, identical with the Laos and Siamese, who still form the basis of the native population. Massive ruins marking the sites of ancient capitals testify to the solidity with which the Ahom conquerors established themselves, shown also by their success in repelling a series of Mogul invasions. They proved, however, unequal to resisting the subsequent incursions of the Burmese, whose aggressiveness in this quarter drew down upon them the vengeance of the English in the war of 1826. One of its results was to place Assam under British rule, and the experiment of governing a portion of its territory through a restored native ruler having subsequently been tried and failed, it

was in 1838 reunited under a uniform administration. The entire province was in 1874 constituted as a separate Chief Commissionership, comprising an area of 41,798 square miles, divided into 11 districts. The sparsity of its population, numbering only 4,132,019, or an average of 99 to the square mile, is in singular contrast with the density of that of Bengal, where a like space frequently supports 500, 600, or even 800 human beings. Its area comprises the Valley of the Brahmaputra, with a lateral branch, through which a tributary flows, and the encircling and intervening mountain tracts. The latter are covered with unexplored forests and jungle, where the elephant and rhinoceros range to nearly 8,000 feet above sea level, and the tiger and other great cats prowl undisturbed.

Assam is essentially a land of rivers, fed by the deluges of the monsoon; the mountains to the north sending 34, and those to the south 24 considerable streams, to swell the main channel of the Brahmaputra. The latter has its principal source, now generally recognized as such, on the north side of the Himalayas, near that of the Sutlej, whence the Sanpu, afterwards the Dihang, flows eastward for 1,000 miles to join, at an acute angle, the lesser stream, in whose identity it is thenceforward merged. The subsequent course of their united waters is westward and southward for 800 miles to the Bay of Bengal. This they enter as part of the vast reticulated system of the Gangetic Delta, which thus receives the drainage of the northern as well as the southern Himalayan slope, discharging through its numerous mouths 30,000 metres a second, a volume surpassed only by that of the Amazons, Parana, and Congo.

The sanctity ascribed by native superstition to the Ganges hallows also its twin stream, and the great gorge of the Brahmakunda, or Parasaràmkunda, by which the "Son of Brahma" enters Assam in a series of cascades, is hallowed by tradition, and consecrated by pilgrimage. Below this stony staircase, the stream flows through the upper valley, between banks thickly wooded to the snow-line, and rolls

past Sadiya near the frontier, a current as voluminous as that of the Rhine at Cologne. Its flood, which, when confined in a single channel, measures a kilometre across, ramifies in the lower levels over a width of from 25 to 60 miles, forming many islands between its intersecting branches. The largest of these, Majuli, or the Great Island, 55 miles long by ten in width, is enclosed between the main stream and the confluent waters of the Buri Lohit.

The Brahmaputra, flowing in a bed formed by its own deposit, and expanding in the rainy season to a sheet of water many miles across, recognizes no fixed limits to its vagaries, and constantly changes its course, creating new islands, and obliterating old ones. Its navigation thus requires the same minute local knowledge as that of the Mississippi, and is directed by a series of native pilots, each familiar with his own section. Only at Gauhati, and a lower point called the "Gates of Assam," is it confined within a rocky channel, marking the sole sites available for future bridges.

Dense jungle clothes the banks, leaving only some marshy depressions available for rice culture. The inhabited zone is on the lower slopes, where villages nestle among plantain orchards and bamboo-groves, while the mountains and plateaus of the higher elevations are smothered under trackless tropical forest. Few centres of population diversify the luxuriant wilderness of Assam, and only two towns, Gauhati, the ancient capital, and Sibsagar—the one with 11,492, and the other with 5,228 inhabitants—contain as many as 5,000 souls. Shillong, the present administrative capital, founded in 1874, occupies a beautiful mountain site, many thousand feet above the plains, connected with Gauhati by a fine carriage-road, some 70 miles in length. Most of the province is, however, still pathless forest, much of it is actually unexplored, yet its potential wealth only requires accessibility to render it a source of riches to the Empire.

"Assam," says Sir W. Hunter, "with its vast forests,

its inexhaustible rice-grounds, its coal, iron, and tea, and the cheap means of transit which its rivers afford, although at present one of the most backward of Indian provinces, has capabilities of development such as no other part of Bengal possesses."\*

Such progress as it has hitherto made, with whatever prosperity may await it in the future, is entirely due to the existence in its jungle of an indigenous shrub, now known as that variety of the *Thea Bohea* of China, the *Thea Assaminensis*. Its discovery, first made in 1823, remained for more than ten years a dead letter, as the monopoly of the China tea-trade, then possessed by the East India Company, rendered them reluctant to encourage competition, even in their own dominions. It was on the withdrawal of this privilege from their renewed charter in 1833, that their attention was turned to finding compensation for it elsewhere, and the Tea Committee, composed of high officials in Calcutta, was charged in 1834 with investigating and reporting on the subject.

To General Francis Jenkins, Commissioner of Assam, belongs the credit of having forced on their attention, in the teeth of hostile experts, the claims of the "Assam" shrub, first discovered and reported on by his predecessor in office, Mr. David Scott,† to rank as a true *Ternstrom* producing the tea of commerce, used as such by the hill-tribes of the adjacent regions. The result of his energetic representations was the despatch of a scientific deputation, consisting of Drs. Wallich, McClelland, and Griffiths, to collect information on the spot. The journey from Calcutta to Sadiya, now performed in five days, then occupied more than four months, from August 29, 1835, to January 9, 1836; but the Commissioners' report,

\* "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition; art. Assam.

† So says Mr. J. Berry White in his paper on "The Indian Tea Industry," published in the "Journal of the Society of Arts," June 10, 1887. Lieutenant Charlton and Mr. C. Bruce are credited by others with the discovery.



when it came, was conclusive as to the existence of a true tea-plant in Assam. They made, however, a blunder, by regarding it as a degenerate variety of the *Thea Bohea*, and recommending the introduction of the latter for artificial culture, thus favouring the importation into the country of what has been in reality a deteriorating element.

The Assam tea-shrub is a miniature tree, growing, when wild, from twenty-five to thirty and even thirty-five feet high, with a satiny leaf of golden green some nine inches long. The Chinese plant, on the other hand, is a scrubby bush, resembling the privet of English hedges, growing in many separate stems to a height of but six to seven feet, and bearing a leaf of a dull dark green, no more than four inches long. Not only is the yield per acre of the first nearly double that of the second, but it is more easily manufactured, the young shoots hardening and aging more slowly, while its produce eventually commands a higher price in the market. But the Chinese plant, being a hardier and more prolific variety, blended everywhere, by the intermixture of its pollen, with the indigenous shrub, and produced that hybrid stock, now almost universally cultivated throughout Assam, India, and Ceylon. To eliminate the foreign strain is now the object of improving planters, so much so that the seed of the pure indigenous plant fetches three or four times as much as that of the hybrid.

Nor was this the only mistake made by the authorities in their efforts to foster the infant industry in Assam. Every native of the Flowery Land being regarded as necessarily a proficient in the art of tea culture, Chinese seamen and boatmen, who had never seen a garden, were picked up indiscriminately in the Indian seaports, as superintendents and directors of the Government plantations.

Hence the first trial, made on ill-chosen ground, resulted in total failure, the plants died, and the Brahmaputra has since obliterated, with the sand-bank on which

they were planted, all trace of this initial experiment. A more happily selected site at Chabwa, eighteen miles from Dibrugarh, proved the cradle of the Assam tea culture, for here the first successful garden was laid down in 1837. After many changes of ownership, it is still, at the lapse of fifty years, a paying concern, and gives its name to the existing Chabwa Company.

After the incorporation of Upper Assam in British territory in 1838, State enterprise was superseded by private speculation, and the Assam Tea Company, of disastrous memory, came into existence, to enjoy for many years, as the pioneer of the new husbandry, a monopoly of failure.

"We learn by spoiling" (*Guastando s' impara*), says the Italian adage, and the first Tea Company rapidly expended a capital of £200,000 in the costly process of education. Barely escaping bankruptcy, it survived, however, to profit, under improved management, by its dearly bought experience, and after a hard struggle for existence paid its first dividend out of earnings in 1852. It is now at the head of the Indian Tea Companies, with property valued at half a million, and paying dividends at the rate of 20 per cent per annum.\*

Meantime a race of smaller cultivators had begun to tread on its heels, and in 1853 there were nine private tea-gardens in Assam. Five years later was formed the second great Tea Company, that of Jorehaut, which has had a career of almost unbroken prosperity, represented by dividends averaging 15 per cent.

A period followed when the tea industry, from 1861 to 1864, passed through the inevitable phase of speculative fever. So high did it run during those years, that lucrative appointments in India were thrown up to embark in tea-gardening, while business in Government offices sometimes came to a standstill, from the desertions of clerks to the same enterprise. In Assam, as elsewhere under similar

\* It did so in the crop of 1885.

circumstances, swindling thrived apace, and many are the stories told of frauds perpetrated on speculators, themselves perhaps bent on defrauding the public. The natural reaction followed—the Assam El Dorado, like so many others, proved the road to ruin, and the years 1864, 1865, and 1866, are signalized by a black mark in the annals of tea-planting.

After having passed through these successive disorders, incidental, as it would seem, to the infancy of all undertakings, tea culture entered on that later stage of development in which sober progress is recognized as the law of its being, and thrifty husbandry as the sole secret of profits in the face of world-wide competition. Fortunatus's purse is not to be picked up in the Assam jungle, and the tea-planter's gains, like those of all agriculturists, are the hardly-won meed of patient skill. Indeed, he has more than his share of the troubles that afflict the farmer, since the tea-plant has to contend with a greater number and variety of foes than almost any other crop. Yet the dread and dismay caused by "red spider," "green fly," "orange beetle," "mosquito blight," and all the other insect plagues and pests his plantation is liable to, are as nothing compared with the annoyances and anxieties connected with the labour question, and summed up to his mind in the word "coolie." It is on the whole fortunate for him that the active care and supervision required by the plants at all seasons, leave him little time for ruminating on his woes, and make his life an unceasing round of duties and occupations.

In the preliminary process of choosing a site for a tea garden, blind adherence to Chinese precedent led European cultivators in Assam into one of their many initial errors. Pictures representing men slung in baskets to pick the leaf on precipitous declivities, were supposed to indicate the preference of the plant for such localities, while it is really the pressure of population on the soil of China that relegates its culture only to spots unfit for the growth of food. Steep

slopes are inimical to high cultivation, as the constant loosening of the earth round the plants which it implies renders the roots in such situations liable to be stripped by heavy rains. The gentlest incline consistent with moderate drainage, is now found to be the form of ground that lends itself best to the requirements of culture. Poor soils, again, were at first believed to be the special predilection of the shrub, which, on the contrary, thrives best in the richest vegetable mould, abhorring only the stiff clays, whose resistance the tender spongioles of its roots cannot penetrate. An intermixture of sand is necessary for the same reason, and a dark earth, unless the colour be produced by vegetable decay, is invariably unsuited to the plant. The great depth to which its root-fibres descend, enables it to draw nourishment from a superficially exhausted soil, and thus worn-out coffee plantations in Ceylon are capable of being utilized over again as tea-gardens. Heat and moisture, neither of which, if duly alternated, can be excessive, furnish the atmospheric conditions in which the tea-plant luxuriates, while this combination forms the climate most deleterious to man. Assam, where violent but brief deluges of rain are succeeded by unclouded sunshine, satisfies these requirements to perfection; and Colonel Money,\* in comparing it with the other Indian tea districts, chiefly Darjiling, Chittagong, and Ceylon, gives it the highest percentage of advantages under the heads of climate, soil, and conformation of ground, though a very low one as regards transport, and supply of labour and manure. Frost, though not fatal to the tea-plant, lessens its productiveness, and the Himalayan and Nilgherry teas, reared in the comparatively cool climate of the hills, are weaker, though more delicate in flavour, than those grown in the forcing-house atmosphere of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Coarse grass jungle, where the soil has been enriched by centuries of vegetable compost, while its clearing can be

\* "The Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea," by LIEUT.-COL. EDWARD MONEY. London: W. H. Whittingham and Co. 1873.

effected by applying a lucifer match, is the most advantageous site for a tea-garden. Such lots, of which the ownership, under the category of waste lands, vests in the Government, of India, were formerly sold by auction, being put up at the price first of 5s., afterwards increased to 16s. an acre. Since 1876, however, the practice has been to let on leases of 30 years, at a rent rising progressively to 2s. an acre, such leases being put up to auction at a minimum premium of a like amount. Up to March, 1883, 221,379 acres had been let under this tenure, the term of which is renewable, on its expiry, at the average price of waste lands. An indispensable adjunct to the ground intended for the plantation itself is a nearly equal area of uncleared tree-jungle, in order to furnish the charcoal required for manufacture.

As soon as the future garden has been sufficiently dug and weeded, stakes are driven at intervals of about four feet, to mark the place of the plants. The latter, invariably raised from seed, are, according to local conditions, either grown in a nursery to be subsequently transplanted, or planted immediately at the spots marked out for them, a process termed "sowing at stake." For three years they are not mature enough to bear even the lightest picking, and the garden, absolutely unproductive during that period, is not in full bearing until the eighth year. At the lapse of twenty years, during which the plant remains in full productiveness, it is generally cut down to within a few inches of the ground, when it sends up a new growth of suckers from its root. The Chinese, on the other hand, consider the tea-plant, like the vine, improved by age, and show specimens boasting a century of antiquity.

The plants, heavily pruned in winter, are kept at a height of 30 inches, and present a tabular surface, six to eight feet across. Much ground, amounting to 30 or 40 per cent in some gardens, and 20 per cent throughout Assam, is wasted through "vacancies," blank spaces left by the failure of a proportion of the seedlings. These it is difficult to replace, as the older plants starve the younger in

the struggle for existence, and fresh ground is generally taken up in preference to overcoming the difficulty. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the efficacy of manure in increasing the productiveness of a tea plantation, but the best authorities are in favour of its use, and recommend the application of all decaying vegetable matter to this purpose. The amount of labour and supervision required for even a small area under tea culture, may be estimated from the fact that 2,500 bushes are generally reckoned to the acre, while as many as 8,712 have been grown successfully on the same area by the hedgerow system of planting in a continuous line. Thus it is laid down by the authority last quoted, that a tea estate under private management should never exceed 500 acres, with a nearly equal extent of forest to supply the fires.

In this, as in all other forms of husbandry, large profits are dependent on high culture, and an annual expenditure of 100 Rs. an acre will amply repay. Constant, that is to say monthly, hoeing is the most beneficial treatment for the plant, the demands on the vitality of which require to be met with a constant stimulus. Its productiveness depends on the frequency with which it "flushes," or sends out new leaf-shoots, and "the more hoeing, the quicker the flushes," is an axiom of tea culture. From February or March to the middle or end of November, the season in Assam of the activity of the plant, the flushes succeed each other at irregular intervals, varying between seven and twenty days. A small crop and scant profits, are represented by a total of 18 flushes; ample production and large gains, by 25. A tea-garden in full flush is a very pretty sight, as its thickly planted bushes then appear as if crowned with gold.

As the young shoot must be plucked while still callow and tender, an army of leaf-pickers is required to carry on the operation simultaneously. The leaves are daintily nipped off by the thumb and index finger, half the last one always being left so as to draw the sap upwards towards the new growth. In the first plucking of the season, only the bud

and half the leaf next it are taken, the maximum of three and a half leaves in addition to the bud being progressively reached as the season advances.

The quality of the tea is determined by the position of the leaf it is made from. Thus, the closed bud and half-open leaf next it, forming the head of the flush, alone give true Pekoe; the two succeeding leaves Souchong; and those still lower down Bohea and Congou, the latter, however, being a quality rarely manufactured in Assam. The production of "Pekoe tips," which owe their silvery or orange-grey bloom to the down on the callow bud, is also generally neglected, the separate treatment they require being too costly to be repaid even by the high price they command.

Each bush yields a yearly average of 2 ozs. to 3 ozs. of finished tea, representing four times that weight of green leaf. This figure is, of course, largely exceeded by individual plants, and one has been known to give  $13\frac{3}{4}$  ozs. The gross production throughout India of 256 lbs. to the acre is surpassed by that of Assam, reckoned at 280 lbs. The latter is the minimum of profitable production, taking expenses of cultivation at 40 Rs. to the acre, 100 Rs. being required for really high culture. A profit of £20 ought, according to estimates, to accrue on a crop of 400 lbs. to the acre, but is found in practice to shrink to £10 or £15. Well-cultivated gardens produce 500 lbs. to 800 lbs. per acre, while the figure of 920 lbs. has been reached in Upper Assam, and 1,000 lbs. per acre is hoped for among the possibilities of the future.

Plants grown for seed blossom in the spring, the flower resembling that of the white dog-rose, and the seed is ripened in October or November. That of the indigenous plant sells for 200 Rs. to 300 Rs. the maund, or chest of 80 lbs.; that of the hybrid for 50 Rs. to 80 Rs. The vitality of the seed is injured by travelling, and a large proportion fails if transported to any distance.

All the operations hitherto recorded are purely agricultural, but no sooner has the Assam tea-planter gathered his

crop, than he begins to appear in his second aspect, as a manufacturer. Unlike his Chinese *confrère*, who sells the leaf to itinerant vendors for collective treatment in separate factories, the Indian grower performs the whole process of preparation on his own premises, sending the tea from the plantation ready-packed for the market. This system has the advantage of securing its treatment while fresh, but is economically imperfect from the waste of power in all manufacture on a limited scale.

The entire process as at present simplified consists of five operations, performed in about 48 hours. The first is "withering," effected by the free exposure of the leaf on open trays to the influence of light and air, when, in a length of time varying with atmospheric conditions, but never exceeding 24 hours, it exchanges its vegetable crispness for a limp flaccidity, compared to that of a silk handkerchief.

It is then ready for the second operation, that of "rolling," now generally performed by machinery, and consisting, as the name implies, of rolling the withered leaf to and fro on a flat surface, until it assumes the twisted fold we are familiar with, losing also some of its juices under the pressure.

It is next subjected to "fermentation," induced by making it up in balls of a soft and mashy consistence, in which it remains for a few hours, more or less according to weather, the process being much accelerated by heat. It is arrested at will by breaking up the balls, experience alone determining the moment for doing so, though the colour of the leaf, which ought to be half copper and half a greenish bronze, gives some guidance to the operator. The actual nature of the change undergone in fermentation is matter of dispute, but its amount largely affects the character of the resulting tea. Over-fermentation produces insipid or sour tea, while undue curtailment of the process leaves an excess of rasping pungency in the flavour. Chinese tea for native consumption is usually



fermented to the saccharine stage, as it is drunk without the extraneous sweetening demanded by the European palate.

"Sunning," in which the fermented leaf is exposed to the drying influence of sunshine, is counted as a fourth process, and is preliminary to the fifth and last, that of "firing." The fuel used is generally, though not necessarily, charcoal, and the tea is crisped by being exposed to its heat on wicker drawers or shelves. It only remains to sift it, in order to separate the coarser and finer qualities, after which it is packed in 80-lb. chests, and leaves the plantation in the same state in which it reaches the market.

The manufacture of Flowery Pekoe is slightly different, as it is not rolled but shrivelled in the sun, and then roasted until it turns a pale orange colour, with a silvery sheen. The Chinese practice of perfuming it artificially by the addition of certain fragrant blossoms is not resorted to in Assam.

Green tea, again, is produced by a different and more summary process of manufacture, the unwithered leaf being alternately rolled and stirred in hot pans, until it becomes crisp and curled, retaining a larger proportion of vegetable juices than the ordinary quality. Hyson corresponds in green tea to Souchong in black, both being made from the same class of leaf. The Chinese plant is preferable to the indigenous for the production of green tea, of which but an insignificant quantity is manufactured by the Assam growers.

The brick tea, with which China supplies Central Asia, is made from dust, steamed and pressed by machinery into the requisite shape, Hankow being the principal seat of its manufacture. A similar product is made in Assam from the rougher and older leaf, boiled down to a glutinous mass with congee or rice-water, and then pressed in moulds. Valueless for the European market, it would become a large article of commerce were trade with Tibet ever established.

The scantiness and indolence of the native population of Assam renders the planters dependent on coolie immigration for the skilled labour of their gardens. The Government authorities are generally the intermediaries for obtaining it, and each coolie, furnished at a cost of about 30 Rs., is indentured for a term of five years at the minimum wages of 10s. per month to a man, and 8s. to a woman. The planter is also bound to supply dwellings, medical attendance, and hospital accommodation, as well as rice, when called on, at 3 Rs. a maund, which, in seasons of scarcity, makes a considerable addition to the wages. Coolies are also obtained by private recruiting, an influential native being entrusted with a sum of money, in order to hire them among the inhabitants of his own district. As his employer has no redress, should he elect in preference to disappear with the money, the economy of this method is counterbalanced by an element of uncertainty.

The bounty offered to coolies on re-engagement at the end of their term was at one time run up to a ruinous figure by the competition of planters among themselves, but a more enlightened self-interest has since checked this rivalry and diminished the difficulties of employers.

The gangs of 30 or 40, called *chelans*, in which coolies are generally hired *en masse*, are apt to form so many separate and hostile factions on the plantation. Hence great diplomacy is required on the part of the employer in order to adjust their differences without giving offence to either side, since, from the perishable nature of a crop, which spoils if not gathered at the very instant of maturity, he is especially dependent on the good will of his labourers.

But the most serious trouble the Assam planter has to contend with is due to the action of the Government itself, which, by freely licensing liquor-shops in the tea districts, contributes to the spread of disease and demoralization among the hands. Even putting aside the ethical view of the question, and regarding the coolie merely as a factor in an economical question, a policy which undermines the

chief industry of a country for the sake of a paltry gain to the revenue is shortsighted in the extreme.

Nor is the prosperity of the Indian tea-trade merely a matter of local concern, since its growth during the past half-century gives it a place among great Imperial interests. Assam, the pioneer province in its initiation, still absorbs the largest share of its increased productiveness, as its crop of  $63\frac{1}{2}$  million lbs. for 1887 was more than three-fourths of the 86 millions returned as that of the whole of India, exclusive of that of Ceylon, for which another seven million lbs. may be added.

The first experimental introduction of Assam tea into England in 1837 was followed, in the succeeding year, by the importation of a few hundred pounds as an article of commerce. By 1851, the crop of the Assam Tea Company had grown to 280,000 lbs., and in 1855 the imports into England amounted to 486,000 lbs. Taking subsequent decades, the figures of 2,500,000 lbs., 25,605,100 lbs., and 68,159,600 lbs., were reached for 1865, 1875, and 1885, respectively. The further increase to 76,585,000 lbs. in 1886, has been since continuous, India, exclusive of Ceylon, having sent to England 85,000,000 lbs. in 1887.

The progressive displacement of Chinese and Javanese by Indian and Ceylon teas, at an average rate of seven million pounds a year, is tabulated by Mr. Berry White, from whose pages we extract the relative percentages for the three decennial periods since 1865.

YEAR.	INDIA.	CHINA.	TOTAL.
1865	3	97	100
1875	16	84	100
1883	39	61	100

In the year 1886 the disparity had diminished still further, the proportions being 41 to 59, while the following year, the jubilee of Indian tea, saw the ratios for one month actually inverted, the imports from India being to those from China as 51 to 49.

The full figures for 1887 are equally satisfactory, for

though this reversal of the proportions is not maintained, the imports from India show an increase of  $14\frac{1}{2}$ , and those from Ceylon of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  million lbs., while those from China, Java, and Japan have diminished by 25 millions. The actual quantities are, from the latter group 119,739,116 lbs., and from the former 97,830,119 lbs.; while the superior quality of British tea is proved by the higher value of £5,011,090, placed on its lesser quantity, as compared with £4,670,724 paid for the foreign article. The average price meantime is from  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 2d. per lb. lower than the preceding year.

The effect of this progressive substitution is making itself sensibly felt in China, where the exports during the year have declined from 129 to 101 million lbs., threatening a serious loss of revenue on the likin or inland transit dues. The despatch of a deputation to India to study the improved methods there in operation is now actually contemplated by the original tea-producers of the world.

The result of this international competition has been a heavy fall in price, reacting in largely increased consumption. Thus, while the United Kingdom consumed, thirty years ago, 63 million lbs. of tea, at an average price of 1s. 3d. per lb., with a duty of 1s. 9d., it now consumes 182 million lbs. at a shilling a pound with a sixpenny duty, representing an advance of from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. to 5 lbs. per head of population. The producer's profit at these rates is but  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., and he will probably have to submit to still further restriction. But while the Chinese dealer has met low prices with deterioration of quality, even to the export of re-dried tea-leaves, the Indian planter is enabled to face the falling market by economy in production.

Improved efficiency of labour, the more highly paid hands now doing a fifth more work; concentration of management, rendering the same amount of European supervision available over larger areas; substitution of machine for hand labour, and reduction of brokerage and freight, are the principal items of economy. Under the

latter head, for example, the river steamers have reduced their rates by 33 per cent. within the last ten years, while ocean freights from Calcutta to London have fallen from 70s. to 38s. per ton.

The depreciation of silver also counts among changes favourable to the Indian grower, although in this respect he is on the same footing with his competitors, since the currency of all tea-growing countries is in that metal. Thus, while selling his crop in England, and paid there in gold or its equivalent, he meets his expenses, most of them, such as rent, taxes, and legal rate of wages, being fixed charges, in the depreciated rupee now worth about 1s. 6d., the result being a premium of 25 per cent. on production.

In a future phase of the tea industry a large economy will doubtless be effected by the separation of culture from manufacture, when the extension of railway ramifications shall enable the leaf, gathered over a large area, to be delivered while still fresh to a central factory. The immediate outlook, however, is directed only to increased facilities for transport to the shipping-port, and the extension of trade towards fresh centres of consumption.

It is a remarkable fact, bearing on this question, that the Anglo-Saxon race, next to the Chinese, of whom we have no statistics, stands at the head of the tea-drinkers of the world. Australia, with a consumption of 7.66 lbs. per head, comes first, then Great Britain with 5.90, while Canada and the United States follow, with the figure of 3.69 for the former, and 1.30 for the latter. Russia, on the other hand, despite its tea-loving reputation, takes only 0.61 lbs., or a little over half a pound per head of population.

Australasia and Canada, whither as yet but little Indian tea is exported, would seem to promise the largest opening for its future introduction, particularly as their geographical situation renders them easily accessible. India is, with the exception of Java, the nearest tea-producing country to the South Pacific, and is now placed in direct communication

with the Dominion of Canada by the recent opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

• In the United States, on the other hand, the special predilection of the public for green tea excludes the Indian competition for the present from a market for which Japan is the principal caterer, exporting thither some 30 million lbs. of a tea expressly manufactured for the purpose.

One of the greatest tea markets in the world touches the border of Assam, but is hermetically sealed against its trade by orders of the Chinese Government. Tibet receives six or eight million lbs. of brick tea annually consumed there, from the province of Szechuan by a long and difficult route. Borne on men's shoulders for over 200 miles to the Tibetan frontier, it is thence transported on yaks for 60 days' journey to Bathang, which, according to Mr. Cooper,\* could be easily reached in 20 days from Sadiya, the frontier town of Assam. While the craving of the Tibetans for tea is so passionate that they have been known to sell their children into slavery to satisfy it, they are excluded from their natural source of supply in the interests of a double monopoly, that of the export trade by the Chinese Government, and of the local trade by their own Lamas. So rigorously is the latter enforced, that the retailing of tea by a layman is a capital offence, and the reluctance of the authorities to permit any communication with the rival producing districts of Assam and Darjiling is easily intelligible.

From the other Central Asian markets Indian tea is practically excluded by the heavy tariff on the Afghan and Russian frontiers, but no such difficulty intervenes in the case of Persia. Here a people who consume over a million lbs. yearly, and already carry on an active trade with India by sea, promise a large contingent of future customers, and the existing commercial treaty secures the British dealer fair play in the race for profits.

The intimate connection between the prosperity of the

\* "The Mishmee Hills." T. T. COOPER. London: H. S. King, 1873.

tea trade and that of India generally may be deduced from Mr. Berry White's statistics. It is, according to these figures, the source direct or indirect of employment to 500,000 natives, to whom 12 lacs of rupees are paid in monthly wages; it had, down to the close of 1886, brought under cultivation 250,000 acres of previously unproductive land, which will yield, when in full bearing, 120,000,000 lbs. of tea; it provides a profitable mode of investment for a capital of £19,000,000, and produces a crop the value of which, for 1887, is estimated at £4,500,000.

The benefit conferred on the overcrowded districts of Bengal by affording an outlet for surplus population, and thus relieving the pressure on the soil, is not to be reckoned in figures, but the steady influx may be measured by the fact that Assam, in 1883, absorbed 33,852 fresh immigrants into an existing immigrant population of 280,602.

The results of the tea industry to Assam itself were dwelt upon as follows by Mr. Ward, Chief Commissioner of the Province, at the Jubilee Durbar on Feb. 16, 1887:

"I should like (he said) to furnish you with one or two facts and figures which will give some idea of the progress this Province has made within the last half-century. For convenience of comparison I will take only the figures referring to Assam Proper, that is to say, to the five upper districts—the tea districts—of the Brahmaputra Valley. Now, fifty years ago the population of Assam Proper was estimated not to exceed  $6\frac{1}{2}$  lacs; it is now close upon 18 lacs—that is to say, it has nearly trebled. Forty years ago the settled area of Assam is reported not to have exceeded 1,000,000 acres; it is now close upon 2,500,000. Fifty years ago the first tea plantation in Assam was started; the area under tea in Assam Proper alone is not less than 108,000 acres, and, if we include Sylhet and Cachar, amounts to 200,000 acres. Again, fifty years ago the ordinary land revenue, which the people were found able to bear, came to about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of rupees; to-day they submit cheerfully to an assessment amounting to no less than 26 lacs."

The progressive development of Assam, with that of its principal industry, has received a fresh impetus from recent undertakings for rendering its extensive coal-supply practically available. Buried in impenetrable jungle, the rich carboniferous deposits of the Brahmaputra Valley had re-

mained commercially inaccessible until the locomotive shrieked its "open sesame" to the barriers that sealed up their hidden treasures. The Assam Railways and Trading Company, with Mr. Benjamin Piercy, constructor of the entire railway system of Sardinia, as its moving spirit, have worked this miracle of modern commercial enterprise, carrying a line from the navigable channel of the Brahmaputra at Dibrugarh into the heart of the principal coal regions in the Naga Hills. Constituted in August, 1881, with a share and debenture capital of £600,000, its operations were directed with such energy that in February, 1884, little more than two years and a half later, its principal line of 67 miles, to the Makum collieries, was open for traffic. A branch northward to Sadiya, of subsequent completion, gives a total length of 85 miles, through a country previously almost impassable. Despite difficulties from this source, and the necessity of importing the whole labour staff, amounting to some 20,000 individuals, the cost of its construction on the metre gauge system, with steel rails, was under £4,000 a mile. Its effect in stimulating traffic is seen in the creation of a local trading centre at its principal station, called after the Queen of Italy, Margherita, where already 300 tons of goods monthly change hands. India-rubber, wax, and ebony, are here the staple products sold by the Nagas and neighbouring tribes in exchange for Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield goods.

The supply of coal thus opened up is practically inexhaustible. The principal working, that of Thikall, is tunnelled in a hill estimated to contain 400,000,000 tons of coal above drainage level, while the adjacent Ledo colliery district has the coal conveniently stored by nature in detached hills, one of them supposed to contain 50,000 tons, whence it can be quarried direct into the waggon. A rich petroleum district lies in the same region, the exclusive right of working which is also included in the concession of the Company.

But the chief importance of this pioneer railway lies in



its probable incorporation in the great projected system of communication designed to connect the Bay of Bengal with the upper valley of the Brahmaputra, and eventually with that of the Irawadi as well. Since the length of 700 miles from Chittagong, east of the Gangetic Delta, to Gauhati and Dibrugarh, has been surveyed, and sanctioned in principle by the Indian Government, its construction is only a matter of time, and Mr. Holt Hallett advocates its immediate commencement, saying that it would "tap the chief tea-producing districts of India, and would be most useful in distributing to other lines the wealth of coal that exists in the hills to the east of the upper portion of the river valley."\*

Railway connection between India and Burma, so great a desideratum from a political, strategical, and commercial point of view, would be most easily and cheaply effected by an extension of the system thus created. The prolongation southward to Bhamo at the head of the steam navigation on the Irawadi, of the existing line to Makum, would encounter no great engineering difficulties, while the existence of an ample coal supply at the latter point gives the route an overwhelming advantage. The intervening Patkoi Range has been ascertained by Colonel Woodthorpe to be passable at the comparatively low altitude of 2,860 feet above the sea, or 2,400 above the valley, and the distance would probably not exceed 300 miles. Still wider possibilities are opened up by speculation as to the future railway connection of India and China, and two such authorities as Mr. Colquhoun and Mr. Archibald Little are agreed in representing the existing Assam Railway as a stage on the most feasible route between the two countries.

The Valleys of the Irawadi and Brahmaputra seem indeed pointed out by nature as the obvious highways to the landlocked regions beyond, and a position corresponding to that of Burma as the Gate of China, may ere long be

\* Address on "New Markets, and Extension of Railways in India and Burma." Ipswich Chamber of Commerce, Jan. 25, 1887.

claimed for Assam as the Gate of Tibet. Here only, on the north-eastern frontier of India, does British territory actually march with that of its Mogul neighbour, from which, in the Darjiling district, it is cut off by the intervening independent states of Nepaul and Sikkim. Here, too, were the barrier raised by Chinese exclusiveness once broken down, the easiest passage would doubtless be found where the waters of the Brahmaputra have forced their way through the Himalayan rampart; and Mr. Cooper, who explored this route to the Tibetan frontier, believed that the construction of a road from Sadiya to Bathang would encounter no insuperable difficulty.

It is in countries which, like Assam, form the outlying march of civilization, that the pioneers of modern trade seek further outlets for its vast expansion. The red borderlands of savagery are now the proudest conquests of progress, and their intermediate position, so long a source of twofold danger, has become one of double advantage. Thus they emerge from the penumbra of barbarism to find themselves the cynosure of the eyes of nations, holding the keys of continents, and forming the stepping-stones to commercial empire.

E. M. CLERKE.

## THE PERSIAN GULF ROUTE AND COMMERCE.

THE Phœnicians, who were the first traders of whom any record is extant, are believed to have come originally from the shores of the Persian Gulf. By them the overland trade between Europe and Asia was carried on along the caravan road from the Persian Gulf to the narrow Mediterranean shore of Syria. The first regular trade between the East and West was no doubt conducted wholly by land, but when it gradually took to the routes by the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, it still remained in the hands of the Phœnicians, and it continued in their hands, and in those of their natural successors, the Arabs, from the first dawn of history to the discovery, by the Portuguese, of the sea passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope.

There is reason to believe that it was not many years before the time of King David that the great cities of Mesopotamia, Babylon and Nineveh, made themselves known as commercial entrepôts, for the storing of goods on their way from the East to the West, and that at first, and for a considerable period, Babylon was of the two the more important. She became what the prophet calls her, "a land of traffic, a city of merchants," partly, no doubt, because the navigation of the Persian Gulf presented fewer difficulties and dangers than that of the Red Sea, while her traders were largely aided by the Phœnician settlement of Tylos among the Bahrein Islands, and by Gerrha, a port on the western shores of the Persian Gulf. Gerrha was a place of large trade, and its merchants and shipowners are probably as old as any recorded in history. Nebuchadnezzar is said to have built Teredon, near the present Bussora, for the

extension of Babylonian commerce from the Persian Gulf to Damascus on the north, and this place seems to have continued a city of great trade till the time of Augustus. Deserted afterwards, perhaps from the failure of water in the ancient mouth of the Euphrates, it was replaced by Oboleh, probably during the dynasty of the Arsacides. When the Medo-Babylonian Empire was overthrown by Cyrus, the Persians had practically the entire control of Eastern commerce, but owing to neglect of their opportunities, the course of trade returned to Arabia on the south, and the Caspian and the Euxine on the north. Through the encouragement of the Euphrates valley route by the Seleucidæ, the Parthian Arsacidæ and Persian Sassanidæ, trade was diverted again into its former channels ; Babylon was succeeded by Seleucia under the Seleucidæ, by Ctesiphon under the Parthians, and by Al-Modayn under the Sassanidæ. Under the Saracens, Bussora, founded by Caliph Omar, A.D. 635, and Bagdad, founded by Al-Mansour about A.D. 762, almost rivalled the fame of Babylon and Nineveh ; but when the Caliphs fell, these towns were repeatedly taken and re-taken by the Turks and Persians, and gradually fell into decay.

By the Persian Gulf route, India had been in communication with Europe for more than three thousand years at the time when the Indo-European transit trade was extinguished after the discovery of the Cape route to India. The importance of the Persian Gulf route in ancient times is very significantly shown by the fact that the Greeks and Romans continued, even after the voyage of Scylax, and down to the time of Ptolemy Euergetes and Claudius Cæsar, to believe that India could be reached by sea only by the Euphrates Valley and Persian Gulf.

The voyage of Nearchus, B.C. 326, first gave to the world generally an intimate acquaintance with the Persian Gulf from Cape Jask to the mouth of the Euphrates ; and in the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" is probably contained the first description of the Arabian coast of the Gulf.

The earliest date to which any positive statement of

Chinese intercourse with the Arabs appears to refer is the first half of the fifth century of our era, although it is not improbable that it really existed long before then. At this time the Euphrates was navigable as high as Hira, a city lying south-west of ancient Babylon, and the ships of India and China were constantly to be seen moored before the houses of the town. A gradual recession took place in the position of the headquarters of Indian and Chinese trade; from Hira it descended to Oboleh (the ancient Apologos); from Oboleh it was transferred to the neighbouring city of Bussora; from Bussora to Siraf (Táhiri) on the northern shore of the Gulf; and from Siraf successively to Kish and Ormuz.

Ormuz is said to have been founded about A.D. 230, by the Sassanian Ardashir Babigan, and was originally established on the main land. It is mentioned by Edrisi, who wrote about A.D. 1150. In the thirteenth century, it had become the chief seat of traffic in the Persian Gulf, but about the year 1300 it was so severely and repeatedly harassed by raids of Tartar horsemen, that the king and his people abandoned their city on the mainland, and transferred themselves to the Island of Jerún (now called Ormuz). Oderic gives the earliest notice we have of the new town (circa 1320), and some years later it was visited by Ibn Batuta, who described it as a great and fine city serving as a mart for all the products of India, which were distributed thence all over Persia. Abdurazzák, the Envoy of Shah Rukh, on his way to the Hindu Court of Vijayanagar, was in Ormuz in 1442, and spoke of it as a mart which had no equal, frequented by the merchants of all the countries of Asia, among which he enumerated China, Java, Bengal, Tenasserim, Shahr-i-nao (Siam) and the Maldives. Nikitin, the Russian (c. 1470), gave a similar account, and called Ormuz "a vast emporium of all the world."

It was very soon after the Portuguese had commenced their career of conquest in the East, upon the discovery of the Cape route to India, that they turned their attention to

the Persian Gulf. In the year 1506, three fleets were despatched from Lisbon to the East, one of which consisted of sixteen vessels under Tristran da Cunha, with Alfonso d'Albuquerque as second in command. The instructions given to da Cunha were to proceed to the Island of Socotra, and there construct a fort, which, while protecting the Christians supposed to inhabit that island, should also serve as a depôt for the use of the fleets destined to oppose the Egypto-Venetian confederacy, and to blockade the Red Sea. On the completion of the fort, da Cunha was to proceed to India with his share of the fleet, leaving D'Albuquerque with a small squadron to attack Jeddah and Aden, and to obstruct the Moorish trade. D'Albuquerque had, no doubt, at once perceived the uselessness of Socotra for the purpose intended, and was well aware that his flotilla was too small for him to attempt the capture of Aden. He therefore thought fit, after the departure of Tristan da Cunha, to deviate somewhat from his instructions, and sailed away to the north-east, intent upon the capture of Ormuz, then the chief emporium of commerce in the Persian Gulf, and which, by giving him the entire command of the Gulf route, would be of greater service to his king than the temporary blockade of the Red Sea and the bombardment of Jeddah. D'Albuquerque's expedition against Ormuz was only partially successful, owing to the defection of some of his officers; but the importance of his achievement was fully recognized at home, and he had the satisfaction of returning and completing his work there before his death. It was on his way to reduce the city of Ormuz, and with the avowed object of destroying rival sources of trade, and leaving no hostile states in his rear, that he turned his attention to Omán, and laid in ruins the principal towns on that coast. After the subjection of Ormuz, three places on the Arab coast, viz., Kilhah, Muscat, and Sohar, became stations for the Portuguese factors and merchants who were appointed and controlled from Ormuz. They were sufficiently protected by the visits of the king's ships from India which touched at these places on their

way to Ormuz and Bahrein, and as no vessel under a native flag was suffered to cross the ocean without a pass, they had practically the control of all sea-borne commerce, and thus commanded the markets.

After the Portuguese had firmly established themselves, they fortified and garrisoned their several factories. For forty years the Turks had striven to destroy the growing power and commerce of Portugal in the East, and in 1546 they sent a fleet to the Persian Gulf which destroyed Kesheen and Dhofar, and after bombarding Muscat, sailed away without venturing to land their men. In 1552 they sent a more formidable fleet, under Piri Pasha, which anchored in the port of Muscat, and after a protracted siege the town capitulated. Piri Pasha then directed his way to Ormuz, where he took immense booty, but a Portuguese fleet from Goa arriving in the Gulf, chased the Turks up to Bussora. In 1554 the Turks made another attack on the Portuguese fleet, but on this occasion they were completely defeated. In 1580 Muscat was taken, and sacked by an Arab expedition from Aden under Meer Ali Beg. For some time after this the Portuguese quietly enjoyed a monopoly of the Persian Gulf trade, until the Dutch and English appeared in the East to contest the supremacy of the sea, to grasp their share of the commerce, and eventually, as it turned out, to overthrow the rivals for Eastern Empire.

The connection of England with the trade through Persia and the Persian Gulf was brought about in the following manner: In the year 1553 a very important mercantile discovery was made of a passage by sea to Russia, along the north end of Norway and Russian Lapland, and down into the White Sea to the port of Archangel. The expedition by which this discovery was made was conducted by Sir Hugh Willoughby as commander-in-chief, and Mr. Richard Chancellor, with three ships, the *Bona Esperanza*, the *Edward Bonaventure*, and the *Bona Confidentia*, just before the death of King

Edward VI., being supported by a Society or Company of gentlemen and merchants for the discovery of unknown countries. It seems to have been the scheme of the famous Sebastian Cabot, who was chosen Governor of that Company, that, since the wars of Sweden with Russia had obstructed the English trade with the latter country, the English were bound to attempt this new passage to Russia by the Northern Ocean, by which route they also expected to find a north-east passage to China. With these ships went letters from King Edward VI. to all kings, princes, etc., for their protection. Sir Hugh Willoughby was compelled, by the sudden approach of winter, to run into an obscure harbour in Russian Lapland, called Arcina Keka, where he, and the crews of two of his ships, seventy in number, were frozen to death. Richard Chancellor, however, in the third ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, accidentally fell into the Bay of St. Nicholas, or White Sea, where no European nor any other ship had ever been seen before. Chancellor landed at Archangel and proceeded to Moscow, where he was received with singular marks of distinction by the Czar, the Grand Duke Ivan Wassilowitz, from whom he obtained privileges for the English merchants and a favourable reply to the king's letter.

In 1554 the Russia Company obtained a charter of incorporation, and in the following year they sent out their second adventure to that country. In 1557 they despatched four ships, in one of which was Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, who passed through Russia into Bokhara, which he was very quickly obliged to leave. He discovered, however, that the Persian trade lay mostly on the side of Syria and the frontiers of Turkey. He obtained certain concessions from Abdallah Khan, then sovereign of Shirvan and Hircania (Ghilan) from which the Russia Company expected that a trade of some amount might be carried on. Accordingly, in the following year, Jenkinson set on foot a new channel of trade, through Russia into Persia, for



raw silk, etc. He sailed down the Volga to Nijni-Novgorod, Casan and Astrakan, and thence crossed the Caspian Sea to Persia. At Boghar he found merchants from India, Persia, Russia, and Cathay. Jenkinson returned the same way to Colmogro, in the Bay of St. Nicholas, and thence to England, where he arrived in the year 1560. This voyage he performed seven different times. The last expedition in this direction by the Russia Company appears to have been undertaken by Christopher Burrough, who went into Persia in 1579 and returned home in 1581, and with this voyage ended the British Caspian commerce.

In 1614 the Factors of the East India Company at Surat attempted to open a trade with Persia. This project had been suggested by Mr. Richard Steele, who had gone to Aleppo to recover a debt from a merchant of that city. The debtor had fled to India, and Mr. Steele followed him through the Persian dominions and arrived at Surat. On the report which he made to the Factors of the great probability of advantages to be derived from a trade to Persia, they agreed to send him and Mr. Crowther, one of the Company's servants, into Persia to examine the practicability of the speculation, and what harbours were fit for shipping, allowing them £150 to defray their charges, and giving them letters of credit on Sir Robert Shirley, who had settled at Ispahan, and also letters to the king of Persia, and to the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass.

Mr. Steele having described Jask as a convenient port at which trade might be commenced, he was directed to proceed through Persia, by Aleppo, to England, and was strongly recommended for his ability and knowledge to the Court of Directors. In the following year the agency at Surat despatched a vessel with goods to Jask, where the expedition was favourably received, and a licence granted to land the goods. Leaving two Factors at Moghistan, Messrs. Barker and Connock, who had charge of the

expedition, proceeded to Ispahan, and remained there as the Company's Agents. In 1618 they obtained three phirmaunds in favour of the English, and these were followed by a treaty which gave them considerable facilities for trade in Persia. In the following year, the agents at Ispahan delivered to the Shah a letter from King James, and shortly afterwards they solicited the Shah's permission to establish a factory at Gombroon, as that port was eight days' journey nearer to Ispahan than the port of Jask.

Mr. Hobbs, one of the Russia Company's factors, made a journey from Moscow to Ispahan in 1620, by way of Astrakan, and across the Caspian Sea, as their agents had done in Queen Elizabeth's time. In his report on his expedition, he gave an account of a great trade for raw silk at sundry ports on the Caspian Sea, and he intimated how easily the Company might carry on that silk trade by transporting it to Russia. He stated that at Astrakan Persian vessels brought in their dyed silks, calicoes, and Persian stuffs, and in return carried home cloth, sables, martens, red leather, and old Russian money; but that the Turks, Arabs, Armenians, and Portuguese—but more especially the last—severally plotted against the Company and their Persian trade. It does not appear that the Russia Company took any action on this information; but circumstances shortly afterwards occurred which gave a considerable impetus to the trade of the East India Company with Persia.

In November, 1620, two of that Company's ships, the *Hart* and the *Eagle*, had proceeded from Surat, their principal factory in India, to Jask, but on attempting to enter the port it was found to be blockaded by a Portuguese fleet of superior force. They accordingly returned to Surat, where they were joined by the *London* and *Roebuck*, with which reinforcement they returned to Jask, and fought an indecisive battle with the Portuguese, who, however, gave way, and allowed the English fleet to enter the port, whilst they retired to Ormuz to refit, but returned shortly after-

wards to Jask Roads to renew the action, which terminated in favour of the English, who, however, lost their commander, Captain Shillinge, in the engagement. The result of this action raised the English character in the estimation of the Persians for naval bravery, and greatly facilitated the purchases which the Factors were making of Persian silks. Mr. Monnox, the Company's agent, had at this time sent a caravan from Ispahan to Jask with several hundred bales of silk, which was stopped on the journey, in Moghistan, by the Khan of Shiraz, not so much with the object of interrupting the trade as to force the English to assist the Persians against the Portuguese. On the arrival of the English ships at Jask, in December, 1621, the Khan refused to allow them to take in their cargoes unless they would previously agree to assist the Persians in repelling the Portuguese aggressions, and they were consequently compelled to accede to this condition. Accordingly an expedition, consisting of an English fleet of five ships (the *London*, *Jonas*, *Whale*, *Dolphin*, and *Lion*), and four pinnaces (the *Shilling*, *Rose*, *Robert*, and *Richard*), under the command of Captains Blithe and Weddell, was despatched from Surat to the Persian Gulf to encounter the Portuguese fleet, and arrived off Ormuz on the 22nd January, 1622, whilst a Persian army was ready to co-operate with them on shore. The Portuguese had five galleons and fifteen or twenty frigates, but these did not at first attempt to meet the English fleet. On the 1st February, Kishm Castle and the Portuguese Admiral, Ruy Frere, were taken, and the fleet then proceeded, on the 9th of the same month, to besiege Ormuz, where they met with an obstinate resistance. The city was taken by the Persians, and a great part of the Portuguese fleet sunk, whereupon the Portuguese capitulated to the English on the 22nd May, 1622. They then retired to Muscat, at which place they already had a factory.

The English, in return for their assistance in expelling the Portuguese, received half of the booty (of which they

were afterwards obliged to pay £10,000 to the King of England, and £10,000 to the Duke of Buckingham), and were granted certain immunities, including the possession of the Castle of Ormuz, together with half the customs of Gombroon, to which place the commerce of Ormuz was then removed. The Shah also renewed the Treaty of 1618, made with Mr. Connock, and granted an additional phirmaund, allowing the English to purchase whatever proportion of Persian silks they might think proper, in any part of the country, and to take the goods to Ispahan without payment of duties; they were also allowed free passage through the country of Lar (Laristan), and to have an agent at Ispahan to negotiate their business.

Notwithstanding these concessions, the English continued to experience considerable difficulties in carrying on their trade with Persia, owing to the proceedings of the Dutch and Portuguese. The Dutch had indeed now become dangerous rivals, and had succeeded in obtaining a grant for a proportion of the silk trade, on terms rather more favourable than those which had been given to the English. Owing to the continued unsatisfactory state of the Persian trade, the Council of Surat granted a commission to Captain Swanley in 1628, who was appointed commander of a fleet of five ships, to proceed to the Persian Gulf to act against the Portuguese, and to endeavour to revive and increase the trade. In the advices from Gombroon to Surat this year, it was stated that the trade had been materially injured by the conduct of the Mogul Ambassador, who had, under the name of presents to the Persian Court, carried to Ispahan two-thirds of the goods which went on the fleet which conveyed him from India, by which the payment of custom at Gombroon was evaded, and the Company's proportion of them materially diminished.

The Portuguese did not rest quiet at the loss of Ormuz, and in 1630 the recapture of that place was projected, for which purpose a reinforcement of nine ships and two

thousand soldiers was sent out to the Viceroy of Goa. This fleet was engaged by the English ships off Swally, in which the latter had the advantage, without, however, the action being decisive. The English agents in Persia this year obtained two phirmaunds, allowing them to bring silk from Ghilan to Ispahan; but these were rendered ineffectual owing to a rebellion which had broken out against the new King of Persia, in which the stores of silk in Ghilan were exposed to an indiscriminate plunder by the rebels. The agents succeeded in obtaining the assistance of two hundred Persian soldiers to protect the English factory and shipping at Gombroon against the Portuguese.

The Portuguese Envoy had now insinuated himself into the favour of the Khan of Shiraz, who had given that nation permission to trade to Cong, and who also presented their petition to the king for the restoration of Ormuz. In the following season the company's agents in Persia obtained from the new Shah (Shah Sephi) a confirmation of all the former phirmaunds to the English, but only at an annual cost of about £1,500 in presents to the king, and on condition that the agents agreed to take from him silk to the value of over £60,000 per annum, of which one-third was to be paid in money, and two-thirds in goods.

Notwithstanding the favourable terms obtained by the English, the trade in 1636-37 had considerably diminished, whilst the customs receipts at Gombroon had also declined. The chief cause of this was only discovered on the death of Mr. Gibson, the Company's agent in Persia, from whose books it appeared that, instead of applying the company's cash to the promotion of their trade, he had lent over £12,000 to the Dutch, which had enabled them to obtain silk, and to bear down the English purchases of that article. New regulations were now introduced by the President of Surat for the trade in Persia, and orders were given to the agents to sell off their furniture at Ispahan, and concentrate their trade at Gombroon. Although this

last order was not carried out, the effect of these new regulations speedily began to be felt, and the Persian trade would probably soon have been restored to its former extent, had not Courten's ships and agents arrived at the Persian ports, and endeavoured to undermine the East India Company's credit with the Persian Government, whilst the Dutch at the same time depressed the trade by selling European goods at a loss, that they might engross the Persian produce.

In 1639 the Presidency of Surat despatched Mr. Thurston and Mr. Pearce on a voyage of experiment to Bussora, with the object, if possible, of opening a trade in the Persian Gulf at a port not subject to that monarchy, and at which it might be possible to counteract the Dutch by influence in Europe. These agents reached Bussora on the 31st May, 1640, and obtained a licence from the Turkish Bashaw to land their goods under more favourable circumstances than any other European nation enjoyed; but they represented that if a trade to this port were to be persevered in, it would be necessary to fix a permanent factory there. This was, however, at the time prevented by an outbreak of civil war in the province, and the goods intended for Bussora were consequently diverted to Mocha. A factory was, however, shortly afterwards established, and Bussora was described, in 1644, as one of the most important centres of exchange which the Company at that time enjoyed.

Shah Sephi died in May, 1642, and was succeeded by his son Sultan Abbas, from whom the Company's agents obtained a renewal and confirmation of the greater part of their Phirmaunds and contracts, notwithstanding the intrigues of the Dutch. Owing to the failure of the Company to take off the same quantity of silk as in former years, the Phirmaunds for contracts were refused in 1644, and the agent was compelled to explain to the King of Persia that the reason of this change was the distracted state of the Government in England, in which the rigid and austere manners of the Republicans had rendered silks (an article

of former luxury) less in demand than under the polished manners of a Court.

The Dutch had hitherto, by presents and by intrigues, obtained a share in the trade of Persia, but in 1645 they employed force to compel the Persians to give them almost an exclusive trade in their country. This greatly depressed the English trade, and the despatch of eight Dutch ships to the Gulf of Bussora almost ruined the English factory at that place; while the Company's factory at Gombroon was in such a precarious position that the agents determined to remove all the property there to Bussora as a place of greater security, where it arrived in safety in June, 1645. Three new phirmaunds were now obtained from the king, which it was hoped would ensure a revival of trade, but at this juncture one of Courten's ships arrived at Gombroon, which again threw affairs into confusion; and when in 1650 the Portuguese had been expelled from Muscat, and could no longer resist the Dutch in the Persian Gulf, the latter sent a large fleet to Gombroon, and obtained a great preponderance in the trade there, as well as privileges equal to those of the English. Their credit also was raised in the country, whilst the commercial transactions of the English declined. Owing, too, to the superiority of the Dutch fleet, the English were almost reduced to the necessity of sending the silks they had purchased to Aleppo, and thence by the Mediterranean to England. Further difficulties were thrown in their way, owing to Cromwell, in 1655, having given a commission to the "Merchant Adventurers," with whom, however, the London Company shortly afterwards united.

For several years the Company, in a great measure, relinquished the Persian trade, merely maintaining an agent at Gombroon to keep up their claim to a moiety of the customs at that port. In 1679 the Court seriously considered the question of abandoning their Persian trade altogether; but in 1681 a plan was projected to connect the trade of the Gulfs of Arabia and Persia with that of Surat, and the

*Dragon*, a small vessel of 180 tons, carrying eighteen guns, was equipped for the purpose. This trade, however, proved a failure, having been started in ignorance of the facts that Mocha was supplied by Armenian merchants with European cloth from Surat ; and Bussora with cloth from Aleppo and Gombroon, as well as by French and Dutch ships.

Having for many years past, in opposition to the advice of their agents, adopted a weak and temporizing policy in Persia, the Court at last determined to equip a maritime force to second respectful applications to the King of Persia for the redress of past grievances and for the renewal of grants and treaties, as well as for the recovery of debts due to the Company in Persia, which were estimated to amount to one million sterling. Accordingly, in 1684, Sir Thomas Grantham was sent to Gombroon in a ship of great force, but finding the port blockaded by a large Dutch fleet and Persian troops, which would have rendered any menaces on his part ineffectual, he took on board such goods as he could obtain as freight, and returned to Surat.

At last, in 1686, owing to the efforts of the Company's Armenian linguist at Ispahan, they were successful, in spite of the intrigues of the Dutch, in obtaining protection for their trade, and a confirmation of their privileges at Gombroon. In the same year orders were sent to the agent in Persia to send regular information to England every six weeks by an overland despatch to Aleppo, the interlopers having derived advantages from earlier information than the Company had hitherto received. Orders were given for obtaining Carmania wool and Persian silks by barter for English cloth, rather than by purchase, and the further sale of broad cloths was to be pushed through the Armenian merchants ; it, however, turned out that these Armenians were dealers in cloth sent by the Turkey Company *viâ* Aleppo to Ispahan. In 1693 the establishment in Persia was augmented to a chief, four factors, and four writers, and the factories at Gombroon and Ispahan were to be permanently maintained ; and in 1697 it was determined to make Ispahan the chief settle-



ment in Persia, to which Gombroon was to be subordinate.

After many fruitless attempts, the Company's agent at last succeeded (18th June, 1697) in obtaining a new phirmaund granting them privileges of trade, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, who offered a large sum, provided an order were issued to stop the trade of the English. After repeated applications, the arrears of customs due from Gombroon were paid, principally in silk, notwithstanding the determined obstructions of the Dutch, who claimed the exclusive right to export silk from Persia by sea. On the 24th July, 1699, the Persian monarch paid a visit to the English factory at Ispahan, the expenses of which to the Company amounted to over £1,200. The Dutch did all in their power to induce the king to visit their factory, but without success.

The English East India Company had now directed their attention to the Persian trade, and in 1700 the *Monteagle*, one of their ships, touched at Gombroon, and conducted some purchases and sales there. The agent of the London Company was reprimanded for his too civil reception of the captain of the *Monteagle*, but in the following year, in view of the union of the two Companies, instructions were sent out for the observance of the most friendly intercourse with the agents of the English Company. At the union of the two East India Companies, the factories of the London Company in Persia are described as at Gombroon, Shiraz, and Ispahan, together with a yearly rental of one thousand tomands, or £3,333 6s. 8d., paid by the Sephi of Persia at Gombroon. Mr. Prescott was sent out as Chief of the United Company at Ispahan, and he was also the bearer of a letter from Queen Anne to the King of Persia. After this, the Company's affairs took a more favourable turn. It was not long, however, before Persia declared war against the Afghans, and the ruler of Muscat took this opportunity to make himself master of some of the islands in the Persian Gulf. These events were followed by invasions of Persia by both Russian and Turkish armies, which together natu-

ally depressed trade in Persia generally; whilst that of Gombroon was further affected by Shaik Rachide, who had established an opposition port at Bassidore, to which a great part of the foreign trade was attracted. The Chief of Gombroon accordingly sent an expedition against the Shaik, and recovered from him a share of the customs which he claimed as due to the East India Company. The trade at Bussora was also paralyzed, and the agent found it necessary to withdraw, owing to the oppression to which he was subjected by the Pasha, and he accordingly retired to Gombroon. The factory at Bussora appears, however, to have been shortly afterwards re-established, with Captain French as Resident, who in 1731 obtained a firman fixing three per cent. as the duty to be taken on English goods at that port.

In November, 1729, an engagement took place at Ispahan between the Persians and Afghans, in which the latter were successful, and they then plundered and burnt the city.\* The English factory was also plundered; and on leaving the house the Englishmen, and such Armenians as had escaped the general massacre, fled to the hills stark naked, having been stripped of everything by the Afghans. On the return of the Persian forces to Ispahan the Dutch represented that the English had sided with the Afghans, and they were consequently ordered to pay 300 tomands, and all the horses of the Agency were taken. In consequence of these and other indignities, the English Agent endeavoured to withdraw from Ispahan, but was prevented from doing so. He, however, sent off all the Company's books and papers to Gombroon, shut up the factory, and retired there also. The agent at Carmania left that place and went to Gombroon. In 1748 the Court sent out positive orders for the withdrawal of the Ispahan Agency, but this appears not to have been acted upon until 1750, after the Company's house had been attacked and plundered. The staff of the Agency had again to fly

\* See for a contemporary account of this "THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW" of July, 1886.

for their lives, and succeeded in reaching Gombroon in safety.

In December, 1754, the Court sent out orders for the establishment of a factory at Bunder Reig, and Mr. Francis Wood was sent to superintend it. On arrival, however, he found the place in such a state of confusion and poverty that he made proposals to the Shaik Nasseir, which were favourably received, for the establishment of an English factory at Bushire. Acting, however, on orders from Gombroon, he established himself at Bunder Reig, and built there a defensible house; but he was forced to leave the place again in the following year owing to the underhand practices of the Dutch. In 1750 the latter had made Bussora their principal settlement in the Gulf, but in 1754 they retired from there and established themselves on the Island of Karrak, which place they strongly fortified.

The English trade at Gombroon was next interfered with by the French; and on the 12th October, 1759, a fleet of four vessels, under Comte d'Estaing, flying Dutch colours, entered the roads of Gombroon, and the next day attacked and took the English factory. The Chief and Council agreed to a capitulation under which the factory and all its contents were to be handed to the victors. On the 30th October the French retired to their ships, after having burnt and destroyed the factory as well as the Company's ship *Speedwell*. In this year the first firman of which any definite record remains was granted to the English by the Pasha of Bussora.

The unsettled state of the country rendering the continued maintenance of the factory at Gombroon hardly advisable, the agent was directed to recommend some other port or island in the Persian Gulf for that purpose, and he accordingly advised a removal to Bushire. Under orders from the Court, however, all the Company's goods were despatched from Gombroon to Bussora in March, 1763, but in the following month an agreement was entered into with the Shaik Sadoon for the establishment of a factory at

Bushire, and for an exclusive trade at that port. This agreement was, on the 2nd July following, confirmed by a Royal Grant from Karem Khan. The factory at Bussora was not recognized by the Sublime Porte till 1764, in which year a Consulary Barat was obtained for the protection of English commerce and property.

In 1765 it was proposed to appoint a permanent agent at Bagdad; but this was disapproved by the Court of Directors. In 1783, however, a native Agent was nominated, and in 1798 an English Resident, whose chief duty was to transmit intelligence overland between England and India, and to watch and report on the proceedings of the French emissaries in connection with Napoleon's projected invasion of India by way of Egypt and the Red Sea. In 1802 a Consulary Barat was obtained for this appointment.

The Chaub Arabs having for some time molested the trade in the Persian Gulf, an expedition was sent against them in 1767, consisting of four vessels, of which one, the *Defiance*, blew up. On the arrival of reinforcements, an unsuccessful attack was made on the Island of Karrack on the 20th May, 1768, and the expedition was ultimately abandoned.

Shortly after this a discussion ensued as to the relative merits of Bussora and Bushire as the headquarters of the Company's agents in the Persian Gulf. This was finally settled in favour of Bussora. An invitation having been received from the Governor of Gombroon, a Residency was again established there, under the orders of Bussora, with Mr. James Morley as Resident; but on receipt of orders from the Court of Directors, the Residency of Gombroon was shortly afterwards withdrawn.

Early in 1773 the plague broke out at Bussora, whereupon the Agent and Council left. One of the vessels, the *Tyger*, with Messrs. Beaumont and Green on board, was taken by some Persian vessels and carried into Bunder Reig, and they refused to liberate them unless the Company re-established their factory at Bushire; this

was accordingly done, notwithstanding the Court's orders to the contrary. In 1778 the Court ordered an entire removal of the servants and effects from Bussora, but in view of an approaching war with France the Bombay Government determined to retain Mr. W. D. Latouche as Agent for the purpose of forwarding packets, *viâ* Aleppo, the rest of the staff returning to India. Bushire then became the head station for the Company's Persian Gulf trade. Shortly afterwards orders were issued by the Porte prohibiting Christian vessels from trading to Suez, and this gave Bussora increased importance as the only port from which goods could be sent from the East to Aleppo and Constantinople. After this both Bussora and Bushire were presided over by Residents apparently independent of one another, but both subordinate to the Government of Bombay.

On the 12th October, 1798, a written engagement, or cowlmah, was obtained from the Imaum of Muscat with the view of excluding from that place all prejudicial influence of the French, with whom Syud Sultan had been brought into contact through his trade with the Mauritius; and on the 18th January, 1800, Captain Malcolm concluded an agreement with His Highness. These engagements practically amounted to an offensive and defensive alliance with the English against the French and Dutch, and for the establishment of an English Agency at Muscat. In 1803 the French sent M. Cavaignac, in the *Atalanta* frigate, on a mission to the ruler of Oman, which, however, had no practical result.

During the reign of Fath' Ali Khan a closer connection than theretofore was established between the British Government and Persia. This had its origin in the fear of an Afghan invasion of India, the designs of the French on the British dominions in the East, and the competition of European powers for influence in Teheran. Captain Malcolm was sent to Persia as an envoy of the Governor-General, and he succeeded in concluding two treaties, in

1801, with the Shah. By the terms of the political treaty the Shah engaged to lay waste the country of the Afghans if ever they should invade India, and to prevent the French from settling or residing in Persia; while, in the event of a war between the Afghans, or the French, and Persia, the English were to assist the Shah with military stores. By the commercial treaty all the privileges of the old factories were restored, several more were granted, and the duties to be collected from purchasers of staples were reduced to one per cent.

In February, 1800, orders were given to the Resident at Bussora, in consequence of the interference with the mails by the Arabs, that two mails should be transmitted at each despatch, one to be forwarded by Aleppo, and the other *viâ* Bagdad.

The death of Syud Sultan, of Muscat, in 1805, who had maintained some degree of control over the petty powers in alliance with him, left these latter without any check. Thereupon the Joasmee pirates captured two vessels (the *Shannon* and *Trimmer*) belonging to Mr. Manesty, the Resident at Bussora, and treated the commanders with great cruelty. A fleet of forty sail also surrounded the *Mornington* cruiser and fired into her, but a few discharges from her guns obliged them to sheer off. The Government of Bombay accordingly determined to assist the Imaum of Muscat in chastizing these pirates by affording the co-operation of our cruisers in the Gulf. Syud Beder, who had succeeded Syud Sultan, proceeded with a land and sea force against Bunder Abbas for the purpose of recovering it from the Shaik of Kishm, who, availing himself of the troubles that ensued on the death of the late Imaum, had possessed himself of that place and harbour as well as of Ormuz. In this the Sultan was assisted by Captain Seton, with two of the Company's cruisers, in return for which he offered to allow the Company to establish a factory at Bunder Abbas on any terms they chose to dictate. In the following year operations were also actively prosecuted

by the Company against the Joasmee pirates, in conjunction with the Muscat Government, which led to the conclusion of a treaty, dated 6th February, 1806, in which the Joasmee Arabs agreed to respect the flag and property of the Company and their subjects. After this, other Arab tribes combined against Muscat and rendered the trade in the Persian Gulf very unsafe, and another expedition was accordingly undertaken against them. In January, 1810, the fort of Shiraz was captured, and subsequently Zabara and Bahrein were taken by the Imaum's troops.

The Imaum, impressed by the Napoleonic wars and successes in Europe, had been led to turn his attention to the renewal of political relations with France, which had been relinquished by Syud Sultan at the request of the British Government; he accordingly despatched an envoy on a mission to Mauritius, which resulted in a treaty being concluded with General de Caen on the 1st June, 1807. French influence was now in the ascendant at Muscat for a brief period, but on the capitulation of Bourbon and Mauritius in 1810, English influence again became firmly and finally established.

It was discovered in 1808 that the French were secretly intriguing with Persia. General Gardenne was sent from France to instruct and drill the native army. The Shah alleged that this relationship had only reference to the Russians, whom the French had undertaken to drive back. In consequence, of a report that Bonaparte had equipped a fleet to take possession of certain ports in the Gulf, a British squadron, under Captain Ferrier, was sent there to intercept it. This expedition sailed from Bombay on the 14th February, and returned on the 1st April without having encountered the French fleet.

Under these circumstances, Sir John Malcolm was again accredited as Envoy to Persia; but unfortunately, without previous concert with the English Government, and in ignorance of the measures concerted in India, Sir

Harford Jones was at the same time deputed direct from England as Plenipotentiary on the part of the Crown. This event led to unseemly complications, which had the effect of rendering both governments ridiculous in the eyes of the Persians. Sir John Malcolm arrived first in Persia, but had to return to Calcutta without accomplishing anything. Sir Harford Jones then set out for Teheran, and arrived there when the Shah had lost all faith in the professions of the French, which, in consequence of the peace with Russia and reverses in Europe, they were no longer able to fulfil, and he therefore found no difficulty in concluding a treaty (November 25, 1814) of subsidy and alliance, by which all treaties contracted by the king with other European Powers were annulled. Whilst Sir Harford Jones was in Persia, Sir John Malcolm was vested with extensive powers of control over the Company's affairs there and in Turkish Arabia, and he was sent to the Persian Gulf with an expedition to protect English interests, and to take possession of the Island of Karrack. This expedition was subsequently abandoned; but, shortly afterwards, another expedition was equipped by Captain Wainwright for the suppression of piracy in the Persian Gulf, aided by a land force of 1,623 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, with which a corps of 5,000 Persian Horse was appointed to co-operate. The result of this expedition was that the whole of the large piratical boats of the Joasmee Arabs were destroyed, and Ras-el-Khansiah and Shinas were captured. It was thought that this tribe was rendered incapable of committing any further depredations by sea. The Joasmees, however, very shortly afterwards resumed their piracies in the Gulf.

In 1810 the Residencies of Bushire and Muscat were consolidated, and placed under Mr. N. H. Smith, then Resident at Bushire; the Residencies of Bussora and Bagdad being also combined, with Mr. Rich as Resident.

Under date May 2, 1811, the Governor of Bombay



suggested the expediency of withdrawing the factories at Bussora and Bushire, leaving the trade free, as it had become almost extinct so far as the Company was concerned, and maintaining establishments there as ports of intercourse between India and Europe, &c., in which case Bushire might be held by an Assistant attached to the joint Residency of Bagdad and Bussora. The Commercial Residency of Bushire was accordingly abolished from May 1, 1812, and Mr. Bruce, who had succeeded Mr. Smith, remained there as political agent.

The depredations of the Joasmee Arabs continued, and increased in extent and daring. In 1819 it was therefore decided to send an expedition against them, and a land force of 3,547 men left Bombay on the 1st of November under convoy of two of His Majesty's ships and one Company's cruiser, whilst another of His Majesty's ships and seven cruisers, already in the Persian Gulf, were ordered to join the force. The troops were under the command of Major-General Sir William Grant Keir, K.M.T., and the naval branch of the expedition under that of Captain Collier, C.B. Ras-ul-Khyma was taken possession of on the 9th December and garrisoned, and the neighbouring fort of Zyah was taken on the 22nd. These operations had the effect of bringing all the tribes of the Arabian Coast into submission; all their fortifications of any importance were destroyed, and treaties were then concluded with the several chiefs under which they promised to abandon piracy and to renounce all slave trade. Ras-ul-Khyma was subsequently abandoned, and its fortifications destroyed, and the garrison was removed to the island of Kishm, under the command of Captain Thompson, where it was retained to aid in the suppression of piracy should it again be practised. This force was afterwards removed to Deristan, opposite the Island of Angaum, but in consequence of the insalubrity of the place it was finally transferred and fixed at Bassadore. Three or four years sufficed to show that a respectable naval force was fully

competent for all the objects in view, and the military detachment was therefore withdrawn. The head-quarters of the Indian Naval Squadron in the Gulf, after continuing some time at Mogoo were, in consequence of the jealousy of the Persian Government, removed to Bassadore.

In July, 1820, disturbances broke out between the Arabs and Turks at Bussora, and an extensive system of piracy was found to exist on the Euphrates River. Under these circumstances, the Residency and shipping were temporarily removed from Bussora to Mohammerah, a small town in a secure position on the left, or Chaub, bank of the Euphrates, and a short distance from Bussora.

Early in 1821 Major-General Smith, C.B., was sent in command of an Expedition against the Beni Boo Ali Arabs. At first the Arabs were successful, but they were subsequently completely defeated, their fortifications blown up, and their arms taken away.

In addition to the imposition, contrary to treaty, of double duty on the British trade, the Pacha of Bagdad proceeded to place Mr. Rich, the Resident, under restraint. Subsequently Mr. Rich succeeded in removing the whole of his establishment to Bussora; he died on the 5th October, 1821, and was succeeded by Captain Taylor, who removed his establishment to Grain, but on the submission of the Pacha of Bagdad to the demands made on him, he was instructed to return again to Bussora. About the same date (May, 1822) a revision was made of the Residencies in the Persian Gulf; the designations were changed from Factors and Brokers to Residents and Native Agents, and the whole was rendered a political charge, the several agents being prohibited from engaging in trade on their own account or for others.

The East India Company had for some years previously made efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, and on the 4th September, 1822, a treaty was concluded with the Imaum of Muscat putting an end to that iniquitous traffic. In the following year a treaty was entered into

with the various tribes in the Gulf with the view of repressing piracy, and in order to ensure this object Captain Faithful was appointed Commodore of the Company's fleet in the Gulf, with the necessary instructions for seeing that the treaty was properly enforced. In the same year the relations with Persia were transferred to the care of the Government of India, and an envoy of the Governor-General was substituted for the plenipotentiary of the Crown; but in 1834 the Persian legation again passed to the control of the authorities in England.

The influence exercised over the several tribes of the Persian Gulf by the Resident, and the presence of a maritime force, appear to have effected considerable improvement in their general disposition, for, writing in 1832, the Bombay Government stated that the authority of the trading and commercial portions of the Arab community appeared to be daily extending, and would, it was hoped, in time obtain a complete ascendancy in the councils of their restless and turbulent rulers; meanwhile, however, the exertions of the Resident were constantly in requisition to maintain peace amongst the several tribes.

About this time the question of steam communication with India was seriously engaging the attention of Government. Captain Chesney, of the Royal Artillery, reported on the practicability of the Euphrates route in 1831, and an alternative route had also been proposed by the Red Sea and the Nile. In consequence of these inquiries, in 1834 a scheme was formed for an overland communication between India and England *viâ* the Persian Gulf and Turkish Arabia. Two steamers were sent out from England to open the route and navigate the Euphrates, besides which an armed despatch boat, the *Comet*, was for many years attached to the Residency for service in the waters of Turkish Arabia.

About this time the Persian Gulf was overrun by a fleet of the Banyas Arabs, who, having openly taken to piracy, rendered trade in the Gulf unsafe, and insulted

the British flag. The British squadron in the Gulf encountered and severely punished the Arab fleet, and Captain Hennell, the Assistant Resident, summoned the sheiks of the principal tribes and persuaded them to sign a truce, any violation of which would be punished as an act of piracy. The Political Agency in Turkish Arabia, which had hitherto been under the Bombay Government, was now put directly under the control of the Supreme Government, and in 1841 Consular powers were conferred on the Agent by Her Majesty's Government.

In 1838, owing to the refusal of the Persian Government to restore certain places which they had taken from the Afghans, and to make reparation for violence offered to a courier of the British Legation, a force was sent from Bombay under Lieutenant-Colonel Shirriff to co-operate with the squadron in the Persian Gulf, with the view to exact satisfaction. Accordingly, on the 20th June, troops and guns were landed on the island of Karrack, of which place they retained possession until 1841, when, the claims of the British Government having been reluctantly complied with, a mission was sent to Teheran under Sir John McNeill, to renew diplomatic relations; this was followed by the evacuation of Karrack. A commercial treaty was now concluded, putting the trade of Britain and Persia on the same footing as that of the most favoured nation, and providing for the establishment of commercial agencies in the two countries.

Considerable attention had for some time been given by the Bombay Government to the abolition of the slave trade in the Persian Gulf, and agreements were entered into with the several Arab tribes and with the Imaum of Muscat, giving British vessels the right of search over vessels sailing from their ports; and in 1847 Her Majesty's minister at Constantinople obtained from the Sultan a firman authorizing the confiscation of Turkish vessels engaged in slave traffic, the exclusion of Arab and Persian steamers from Turkish ports in the Persian Gulf, and the

delivery of liberated slaves to British vessels to be carried back to their own country. In 1848 an engagement was obtained from the Shah prohibiting the importation of slaves into Persia by sea, and in 1851 a convention was concluded for the search and seizure of Persian vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade.

In 1849, in order to encourage the establishment of a regular mercantile steam communication with the Persian Gulf, the Government of Bombay agreed to grant to the owners of the private steamer *Sir Charles Forbes* a gratuity of Rs.200 on the conclusion of each trip made by that vessel from Bombay to Bushire and back.

In June, 1854, Captain Freemantle, of H.M.S. *Juno*, was sent on a mission to obtain the cession by purchase of the Kooria Moorla Islands, on which were valuable guano deposits. The French had, on several occasions, endeavoured to get possession of the guano, but their negotiations had always failed. Captain Freemantle was more successful, for Syud made the islands over by a deed of gift, dated 14th June, 1854.

During the Crimean War, Persia was disposed to make an alliance with Russia rather than with England or France, and on the 26th of October, 1856, a Persian army seized upon Herat in violation of treaty with Great Britain. Mr. Murray thereupon withdrew from Teheran to Bagdad, and orders were sent from the Home Government for the immediate preparation of an expedition to occupy the island of Karrack in the Persian Gulf, and the district of Bushire on the mainland, and war was formally declared on the 1st of November, 1856. An expedition numbering 5,643 officers and men was formed under General Stalker, and sailed from Bombay on the 13th of November. On the 4th of December it arrived off Bushire; the Island of Karrack was occupied without resistance, and on the 10th of December Bushire surrendered after a very slight opposition. After this the force was increased to 11,170 in number, and placed under

the command of Lieut.-General Sir J. Outram, who landed at Bushire on the 27th of January, 1857; and on the 8th of February the battle of Khooshab was fought, at which Sir J. Outram obtained a signal victory over the Persian army commanded by Shooja-ool-Moolk in person. After this the troops were removed to Mohumra, on the Shat-el-Arab, where the Persians, to the number of 18,000, had entrenched themselves in a fortified position; the British force numbered 4,886. On the 26th of March the enemy were attacked at daybreak; by half-past one the troops were landed, when the enemy fled precipitately, leaving all their tents, baggage, stores, and ammunition behind. After this an armed flotilla, under Captain Rennie, R.N., was sent up the Karoon River to Athway. This place was reached on the 1st of April, when the Persian army was observed occupying a strong position on the right bank of the river; an attack was speedily commenced, and by noon the entire Persian army, consisting of 6,000 infantry, five guns, and a cloud of Bakhtyari horsemen, were in full retreat upon Dizful, pursued by the three hundred infantry which constituted the British force. Hostilities were terminated by the Treaty of Paris, which was concluded on the 4th of March, 1857.

In 1861 proposals were made for a convention between the Indian and Persian Governments for the construction of a line of telegraph from the Turkish frontier, through Persia, to Bunder Abbas, to form part of a line from England to India. The Persian Government, however, declined the terms offered, and the route through Persia was therefore abandoned. In October, 1863, an engagement was made with the Sublime Porte for the continuation of lines of telegraph from Bagdad to Bussora, and from Bagdad to Khanikeen. From Bussora the Turkish and Indian lines of telegraph were connected by a submarine cable in the Persian Gulf. The cable between Kurrachee and the head of the Persian Gulf was laid in the year 1863-64, except the length joining Cape Monga and

Gwadur, which was completed on the 13th of May, 1864. In the same year, Syud Thoweynee agreed to the construction of lines of telegraph through the territory of Muscat, and in 1865 a convention was made with him for the extension of the electric telegraph through his dominions in Arabia and Mekran. Subsequently in 1868 a line was constructed between Gwadur and a point between Jask and Bunder Abbas, whilst the Shah constructed an alternative line from Khanikeen, on the Turkish frontier, through Teheran, Ispahan, and Shiraz, to meet the other line at Bushire. On the 24th of May, 1869, an agreement was concluded under which these lines were to be worked by the Indo-European Telegraph Company.

On the 4th of November, 1867, an Order in Council was issued, making provision for the exercise of consular jurisdiction in Muscat; and in April, 1873, Sir Bartle Frere, who had been deputed as Her Majesty's Special Envoy, concluded a formal treaty for the more perfect abolition of slavery in the Sultan's dominions. In 1872 the superintendence of the tribes on the shores of the Persian Gulf was transferred from the Bombay Government to the Government of India.

The great benefit conferred by the East India Company and the British Government upon the trade of the Persian Gulf cannot possibly be too highly estimated. By the abolition of slavery and the suppression of piracy, coupled with the improvements to trade which naturally followed the establishment of increased security to life and property at the several ports as well as in the Gulf itself, the nations were being prepared for a development of commercial prosperity which would otherwise have been impossible of attainment. Mercantile steamers were, however, a long time before they included the Persian Gulf ports in the sphere of their general trade; so late as 1862 no mercantile steamer traversed these waters, and even when they were first started, with visits at six weeks intervals, the Chief of Bahrein stood obstinately aloof, and resisted

the attempt made towards bringing Bahrein within the sphere of their civilizing operations; his successor, however, a few years later, better appreciating the value of trade, invited two steamship companies to trade with Bahrein, and in 1869 this new trade was commenced. By this date the steam-borne trade of the Gulf had considerably developed; it had now passed through the grades of a six-weekly steamer, a monthly steamer, and a fortnightly steamer, and this regular service had been added to by an opposition company plying irregularly, but with increasing rapidity. The impetus given to this useful and progressive trade has been correctly attributed to the statesmanlike foresight of Sir Bartle Frere.

The opening of the Suez Canal also produced a beneficial effect upon the commerce of the Persian Gulf by developing the steam-borne portion of that trade. Early in 1870 the first steamer arrived at Bushire, direct from England *via* the Canal, as well as the first of an intended line of steamers between Constantinople and the Persian Gulf, which were to run regularly between Constantinople and Bussora, calling at the intermediate ports of Jeddah, Aden, Muscat, Bunder Abbas, and Bushire; and two Persian Companies had commenced running under the British flag between the Gulf and British India.

The closing of the northern trade routes, consequent on the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, had a noticeable effect on the trade of South Persia and adjoining countries. There immediately resulted a large increase to the regular trade of the Gulf ports, apart from consignments sent direct from England by the Suez Canal to Tabreez and Khorassan. Between Bunder Abbas and Khorassan and North Persia generally a large increase of trade took place, and this led to an increase in the steam shipping resorting to those ports. This was naturally followed by a decrease in the charges for freight, which acted as a further stimulus to trade; but the general progress in this direction was somewhat checked by unfavourable seasons in Persia, at the



same time that the imports exceeded the demands of the country. This diversion of trade did not altogether cease after the war. The advantages of the southern route, increased by the introduction of more frequent communication, undoubtedly made themselves felt. The import trade of this part of Persia had become more English, or at least less affected by Russian commerce, which after having made itself felt in the markets as far south as Shiraz, and even Bushire, had been thrown back, the Western European commerce having assumed preponderance from the sea coast to Ispahan.

In the Consular report for the year 1878 it is stated that during the preceding five years the trade of India and Persia had nearly doubled, and the direct trade between the Persian ports and London had trebled, whilst that with Java had somewhat fallen off. More lately, some of the European firms at Bushire have opened branches at Shiraz and Ispahan in view of supplying the large consuming districts direct instead of through native agency. The most promising project for facilitating and stimulating the commerce of Persia to the south is the opening of the Karoon River and of a caravan line from Shuster to Ispahan, whilst the immediate object which is expected to be attained is shortened and cheapened transit communication between the sea and Ispahan, the central mart for North and South Persia. Owing to the steady friendly pressure brought to bear on the Shah by the British minister, the subject of improving the trade routes in South Persia has been at last favourably entertained and seriously taken up, and a cart or caravan road is to be opened from Dizful by Khoramahad to connect Mohammerah and Teheran.

F. C. DANVERS.

## BERLIN.—THE SIXTEENTH OF MARCH.

THUNDER of Funeral Guns!

Deep, sad Bells! with your boom;  
Sorrowful voices of Soldiers and Folk!  
Whom lay ye here in the Tomb?

“Whom?” the Cannons reply—  
Baying like Dogs of War  
Whose Master is gone on a path unknown—  
“Our Glory, and Lord, and Star!”

“William, Kaiser and King,  
For him our iron throats yell;  
Victor we hailed him on many a field,  
We make to his soul farewell!”

“Whom?” say the slow-swinging bells—  
“William, pious and dear!  
Ofttimes he knelt to the King of Kings  
Where now he lies on his bier!”

“He took from his God alone  
The Crown of the Fatherland;  
And now he hath given it back undimmed  
To Death’s all-masterful hand!”

“Whom?” shout the serried ranks—  
Guardsmen and Jagers and all—  
“The lordliest Lord and the kingliest King  
That ever raised battle-call!”

“At his word we thronged to the Field,  
Sure of success to betide;  
Sure that the Kaiser would fight for peace,  
Sure of Heaven on our side!”

“Whom?” sigh women and men,  
And fair-haired Germany boys,  
And girls, with eyes of his cornflower’s hue,  
“For our Father we raise our voice!”

“William the Emperor dead!  
Lo! he made us one Land!  
Thanks to him and his chosen chiefs,  
Strong and secure we stand!

“Steadfast from birth to death,  
Whatso was Right he wrought!  
Duty he loved, and his people, and home!  
Now to dust he is brought!”

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Thunder of Funeral Guns!  
We hear you with English ears;  
In English breasts it echoes—sad bells!  
This tiding your tolling bears!

Warriors, stalwart and fierce!  
We see you are tender and true;  
We are come of a kindred blood, we share  
This sorrow, to-day, with you!

Folk of the Fatherland!  
Our hearts for your grief are fain!  
God guard your Kaiser Frederick,  
And give ye good days again!

EDWIN ARNOLD.

## ROUGH NOTES ON THE REPORT OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

"Have you mixed sand with the sugar?"

"Yes."

"Have you put starch into the flour?"

"Yes."

"Have you ground peas with the coffee?"

"Yes."

"Well, then, come and let us pray."

THE Report of the Public Service Commission marks a further advance on the radical lines, which began by handing over the government of an aristocratic and Oriental country to youths—no matter of what parentage—who had succeeded at a competitive examination; which were accentuated by the *régime* of the kindest, and perhaps most mistaken, of viceroys, Lord Ripon, and which have been developed to revolutionary consequences by the action of his follower, the democratic and bureaucratic Sir Charles Aitchison.

That a high office-bearer of the Civil Service United Prayer Association or the President of the Public Service Commission should return thanks for the innumerable blessings which, under Providence, he owes to the Competitive Examination is only proper, and that he should look upon that Examination as the very best contrivance for governing India, if not the world, is natural. That, however, civilians and other officials of good birth and Oriental experience are inclined to regard competitive examinations with misgivings is equally certain. On a continent where there are Governors but no Government with a well-defined policy, based on thorough knowledge, in any branch of the administration, the only continuity is

the preservation of the rights of the governing class, the Covenanted Civil Service, under whatever name, and this continuity is emphasized in the present Report. Commissions, mainly composed of Civilians, may succeed Commissions and express, in theory, the leaning of the Viceroy for the time being ; but all, in practice, strengthen those rights and must give stones or words to the outsiders who clamour for loaves and fishes. If the Viceroy nearly wept at Poona when a Native Association hinted that the Public Service Commission would prove a snare and a delusion so far as further concessions to native aspirations for higher employment were concerned, Lord Dufferin will only increase his reputation as a diplomatist by leaving India before this question, among other important matters urged upon him during his reign, can be decided.

When Sir Charles Aitchison invoked Divine guidance for the labours of the Public Service Commission, he did not neglect to organize victory in favour of his views. To take the Panjab as an instance, he summoned "twenty members of the Civil Service, including five statutory civilians, twenty members of the Uncovenanted Service, and he invited forty members of the general public, including ten societies and associations, and ten editors of newspapers." To those who knew that province of India, as governed by Sir Charles Aitchison, the appointment of forty officials, or half the number of the witnesses, seemed to be no obstacle to the success of any opinion known to be strongly held by the head of the Government. The selection also of ten pseudo-radical societies and of ten editors, most of whom express "modern ideas" as misunderstood in India, was not eliciting the opinions of the representatives of a class, but was calling up the whole of that class. It would be difficult to find ten of these societies in the Panjab with a larger income than Rs. 120 or £10 per annum ; or ten newspapers, each with more than two hundred paying subscribers. In Sir Robert Egerton's time an inquiry into the noisiest of these societies showed that it was composed of

twenty-one members, of whom seven were Bengalis, eleven schoolboys, and three easy-going men, not holding any particular opinion. Few of them paid their monthly subscription of four annas, then equivalent to sixpence. Yet this society figures prominently as giving the opinion of the Panjab in favour of the notorious Ilbert Bill. To revert to the evidence in the Panjab before the Commission. Three-fourths then of the witnesses being fairly safe to pronounce in favour of competition, the remaining one-fourth may be said to have represented the old governing class, which is unacquainted with English. The questions circulated to witnesses, especially at first, were not self-explanatory even to Englishmen, whilst at no time were they capable of thoroughly intelligible translation into any of the vernaculars, so that the few witnesses of the old school, accustomed to traditions of rule and capable of speaking not only on their own behalf, but also on that of the masses and of the real native community generally, must find their answers, as recorded, consciously or unconsciously caricatured. Yet it is from these answers alone, if critically examined, that the true feeling of the natives can be at all ascertained. This feeling is not only in favour of the principle of the Statutory Service, but also of its extension in a manner which I will venture to indicate on a future occasion, and which, in my humble opinion, constitutes the only solution of the present problem of how to combine efficiency and economy in Indian administration.

It would be a disappointment to the Babus and to their supporters in the Panjab to find that the sweet words of a Public Commission, presided over by their patron, take away from natives the substantial, if strictly limited, concession which their *bête noire*, Lord Lytton, had made, if the Babus had any real patriotism or political sagacity. For how does the matter stand? Of the nine hundred and forty-one appointments held by Covenanted Civilians, one-sixth, or one hundred and fifty-six, were to be eventually held by nominated natives, whilst one-fifth of the yearly

vacancies were to be reserved for them. *Now* only one hundred and eight of these appointments are declared to be *open* to them as they are to the Civilians, who are also to receive the headship of departments, one of which, at least — that of Education — had been hitherto reserved to specialists, whether European or native, by the Secretary of State. Worse than all, the “open” appointments will not carry their existing emoluments when reduced to the proposed “Provincial” level. Again, “Provincial” may be a better name than “Uncovenanted,” though many Uncovenanted officers have Covenants which are not so offensive to a man of honour as the Covenants of Covenanted Servants. The inferiority, however, of the Provincial Service, in spite of a nominal equality in the official list of precedence, is still marked by inferior pay, promotion, and pension, and confining natives to their own provinces will, for one thing, not suit the *Babuli esurientes* of Bengal, who now overrun the rest of India in search of employment.

As, however, the “native” agitation hitherto for a greater share in the higher appointments is only a part of the general upheaval of out-caste India against all that is respectable in native society; as neither the Commission nor the Babus say a word regarding the MILITARY SERVICE, in which, above all others, native gentlemen can be employed with advantage; and, as they pass by the Police, in which similarly a great opening exists for Indians of good birth, we may assume that the elimination of the Statutory Service, which so far as I know it is distinguished and honest, will be hailed with satisfaction by the *nouvelles couches sociales* both in England and India.

The mischief that the proposals of the Public Service Commission, if adopted by the Secretary of State, are likely to create, consists in the further development of the so-called anglicizing process by which Indian civilization and the British Government in India must be eventually undermined. An Oriental country should be governed by Oriental methods, and by men who thoroughly understand Orientals. These

men should be gentlemen by birth. No competitive examination, that is not preceded by nomination, will secure that result, especially if, as the Commission recommend, "the education to be tested in the preliminary competition should be an education of the highest possible English, and not of an Oriental, type." In other words, Arabic and Sanscrit, which are the keys in the hands of an European to a knowledge of, and sympathy with, Muhammadans and Hindus respectively, as well as the proofs of the culture of candidates from these denominations, are to be left to their present inferior position in the scheme of examination, instead of being raised, in stringency as well as marks, to the level of the Western Classical Languages, Latin and Greek. The bread-and-dowry-hunger which causes Babus to clamour for what they are pleased to call "high English education" will not be satisfied with a phrase which, although it expresses their sentiment, practically excludes them from the Indian Civil Service Examination. Had these self-constituted spokesmen of India respected themselves more, and flattered us less by imitation, the study of the sacred languages of India would have disciplined their minds, would have made them more truly "national," and would, *inter alia*, have enabled them, along with their betters of the old school of natives, to hold their own in that *doctrinaire* arrangement for providing rulers, a competitive examination in subjects that have no direct bearing on the country to be ruled. The Oriental Colleges of France, Germany, Russia, and Austria, rather than the example of China, seem to me to indicate the manner in which—with the necessary modifications—the largest Oriental Empire of the world should train otherwise eligible candidates in England for public employment in the East.

I have probably had as much experience of examinations, including those for the Indian Civil Service, as any of the members or witnesses of the Commission. Forty of my pupils passed for India during years when the age and standard of candidates were higher than they are at pre-



sent. The men belonged either to the upper or to the professional classes, with one or two exceptions, who possessed the ability and character which are generally only due to heredity. Several Statutory civilians, and a very large number of Uncovenanted native civilians have been my pupils. I owed my first public appointment, as a Chief Interpreter to the British Commissariat during the Russian war in 1855-56, to a competitive examination; but, for all that, I venture to consider examinations to be merely complementary to a good education, and, at the best, very imperfect tests of fitness for public employment, especially as conducted in this country and in India, where even the science of allotting marks is unknown.

As for the native aspirants to the Covenanted Civil Service, I certainly think that their examination should take place in India, after they have been educated at special Colleges in that country, and have distinguished themselves by good conduct and steady progress during their college career. To compel them to go to England would be as unfair as sending a candidate for Somerset House to India in order to compete there for the Home Civil Service. At the same time, the supposed clamour of the 234 millions of natives of India for their due share of public employment is reduced to its proper proportions, when it is remembered that there are only 941 appointments, of which more than a sixth (now lost) is demanded. In other words, a handful of Babus are agitating for appointments, to which only the ruling class, whether European or native—or those that raise themselves into that class by proved merit in subordinate positions—should alone be eligible. As for the remaining posts in the general administrative and judicial service, they are already in native hands, namely, of 114,150 lower posts, with a salary of less than Rs. 1,000 per annum, 97 per cent. are held by natives, and of 2,558 middle posts, 2,449 are held by natives, 105 by domiciled Europeans or Eurasians, and only 35 by non-domiciled Europeans, as has been clearly shown in the review on the Report of the Public

Service Commission published in *The Times* of the 10th March, 1888.

What the Public Service Commission has really done is to expunge the "specialist" from the Indian administration, and to fill his place by native subordinates. It is precisely in the "special" departments that, in the interests alike of Government and of native progress, the importation of Europeans into India is justifiable and, indeed, necessary. To place youths, who have merely passed the schoolboy test of the India Civil Service Examination, at the head of professional departments is absurd. A civilian has been known to direct education, police, finance, and even hospitals, as each directorship gave the higher pay to which he considered himself entitled by length of service. In future, I suppose, Public Works and the Telegraphs will be placed under the omniscient Civilian, assisted by half-trained natives, who will not contest the scientific infallibility of their chief. Yet even the humblest professional training demands more sustained diligence and mental assimilation, as well as greater observation and practice, than are required for passing the "competitive examination." The Public Service Commission, by eliminating the European specialist, wishes to impose the civilian yoke on all departments, a recommendation which no civilian of education and good birth will himself endorse. It is very characteristic of the Commission that they deal in a lump with the scientific and professional departments of the Indian administration. In no other country than India would it have been possible for ordinary civilians to pronounce on their constitution and future. This task should have been the care of the specialists of those departments, and not of a few magistrates, secretaries, and a High Court judge. *More indico*, however, the Commission is liberal with what does not concern their interests, forgetful that what justifies British rule in India are the departments that represent civilization and scientific progress. The Commission ignore the Military Service, pass by the Police, and, after having

saved their own service, sacrifice the scientific departments. Only those Englishmen, or natives who belong to the lower orders, and who have found that it is more profitable to take an Indian appointment than to carry on their father's trade, will sympathise with proposals that, in the name of liberty and progress, throw all power into the hands of those who not being born to rule, use that power with an arbitrariness and arrogance, of which I have seen no parallel even in the most despotic countries of Europe and Asia.

In 1868, at the suggestion of Sir Henry Sumner Maine, I wrote a paper on the "Dangers of sending native youths to Europe," which was approved by the Council and circulated, I believe, to other Local Governments besides that of the Panjab. It was followed by "Proposals for the reorganization of the Indian Civil Service," which were endorsed by an influential Association, composed of native nobles and officials, very unlike those "ten societies" that I have referred to at the beginning of this paper. The statements made therein are as applicable now as they were then. I venture, therefore, to reproduce an extract from them as a preliminary to a second communication (if you will do me the honour of inserting it), on other portions of the Report of the Public Service Commission, as also on what I humbly consider to be the only way of governing India in the interests alike of that great continent and of England.

"1. That, as in the case of candidates for employment under the Foreign Office and in various branches of the Home Civil Service, nomination (on well-defined, but liberal, principles) precede the competition of both European and native candidates for the India Civil Service. Military officers and the men who serve in Ceylon and under the Foreign Office, are of, at least, equal social standing with the bulk of Indian civilians. They serve, however, for much less, and sometimes in worse climates. Indeed, in proportion as a service is "close," a higher class of men enters it than is now generally attracted by the large emoluments of the Covenanted Civil Service in India.

"2. That, whatever may be possible as regards the nomination of English candidates, native candidates be required to show that they possess landed property at least to the value of Rs. 12,000, which is equivalent to the sureties of £1,000 that candidates in England have now to give to Govern-

ment prior to their appointment in India. No person, I consider, is fit to be a ruler in a country in which he has not a stake, both in property and position. The "closer" also the service, the more stringent can be the examination and other tests for admission to it.

"3. That a certain number of appointments be reserved for competition annually in each province among nominated candidates.

"4. That the distinction between 'Covenanted' and 'Uncovenanted' Service be abolished, and that there only be ONE 'Indian Civil Service,' with various branches and corresponding tests, the present 'Covenanted Civil Service' being the higher judicial and executive branch, into which the present higher Uncovenanted officers may be admitted in regular course of promotion.

"5. That European and native barristers, as also pleaders of standing, gradually fill the present judicial service on half the salaries now attached to these posts.

"6. That in any case, the details of the 'Competitive' examination, as to subjects and marks, be modified in accordance with the scheme contained in the paper on 'The Re-construction of the Civil Service.'"

G. W. LEITNER.

## THE HINDU WOMAN.

### HER HISTORY AND HER RIGHTS ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT BOOKS OF THE ARYANS.

THE first woman created was Shatarupa, and she came into existence simultaneously with Manu. This couple had three daughters. These were married to Rishis and they multiplied. Shatarupa was the constant companion of her husband and his confidential adviser. Nothing was done in the household without her sanction and consent. To get her daughter Devahuti married, she accompanied her husband and daughter to Bindusara, where Rishi Kardama was. Manu told him that the girl Devahuti wished to be married, and, having heard from Narada the qualities of the Rishi Kardama, had fixed her mind upon him; she had not been given away to any one, and had brothers. The Rishi replied that he had been thinking of a married life, and having heard of Devahuti's beauty and other qualities, he was prepared to accept her hand. Seeing that Shatarupa had resolved to give her daughter to Kardama, Manu gave her away to him, and Shatarupa gave the most handsome dowry to her daughter. When Manu similarly gave his daughter Akuti to Ruchi, he entered into a contract with the Rishi that his first son by Akuti should be his. This contract was entered into by Manu not without the consent and approval of his wife Shatarupa.

This shows what place and power the first Aryan woman held, and what was her position with regard to her husband. Does not her life give us a model for our women to follow?

The second woman was also a model woman. Her life was not only a model for the conduct of her sisters as wives, but as souls having a duty not only to this world, but also to

that in which the soul meets its Father face to face and enjoys everlasting happiness. This was the worthy daughter of Shatarupa.

Devahuti's beauty has been already referred to. Even the master of beauties appears to have been enamoured of it. Her intellectual greatness is shown by the Aryan historians by recording the fact that she required no words to learn what was wanted by her husband. Did she simply take care of her partner who was lost for considerable time in devotion, as a servant? No. She looked after him with affection. Her devotion to him was described by saying that she was to her husband what Parvatie was to Shiva. To those who may not know the devotion which Parvatie had to Shiva, it may be mentioned that she gave up her ghost rather than see her husband contemptuously treated by her father. How did Devahuti treat her husband? Mitraya, a Great Rishi, says that she gave up personal desires and selfishness, and observed carefulness, cleanliness, and respect, spoke with real kindness and conducted herself like a true friend, doing service without the slightest wish of any return for it. How was the husband? He was a Deva Rishi: he was delighted with her; his affection to her was so strong that he could not speak to her without being oppressed with sobbing. She gave birth to nine daughters, and was at the head of the most magnificent household, which was the envy of even the highest mortals. When her husband thought of giving up a householder's life and entering that of a hermit, she with a smiling face reminded him that she was without a son. She said, "O knower of God, what a long time had been wasted in gratifying worldly desires; I have neglected to obtain from you higher and more permanent pleasures. Yet the company of a devout personage is not without its reward. I have hitherto been misled and did not ask you, one who is capable of conferring eternal boon on me, for that boon." The Rishi replied: "Don't censure yourself, censure cannot reach you. In a short time God will

incarnate Himself of you. You are already pure by the practice of virtues. Now devote yourself to worshipping God. Worshipped by you, He will make His appearance, remove your doubts, and take you to Himself." So it came to pass. This incarnation was called Kapila. Kardama took leave of Him, to reach His eternal abode. Devahuti once approached Kapila and said, "O God, I am tired of the pleasures of this world. I know they would lead to ignorance or sin. You are the Saviour from ignorance or sin. By your grace, I have obtained you. Remove my ignorance, which has made me to believe that it is I or mine, which is not I or mine. You alone are my refuge. I worship you. Instruct me and save me." She obtained knowledge, learnt what true devotion was, became free from sin, fell at His feet and praised Him thus: "God, you are unknowable. The Creator of all yet born of me. What is impossible to your creatures is possible for you! Even he who thinks of you is saved. What doubt can there be that they who have seen you will be saved." She then gave herself entirely up to devotion, meditation, and worship, looked down upon the material prosperity at her command, and looked up to God as her Saviour and obtained Him.

These ladies flourished in the first or Krita Yoog.

About women, Swayambhoova or the first Manu wrote in that Yoog thus:—

CHAP. II. verse 129 :—

"To the wife of another and to any woman not related by blood, he must say, Bhavate, amiable sister."

Verses 131, 132, 133 :—

"The sister of his mothers, and the wife of his maternal uncle, his own wife's mother, and the sister of his father, must be saluted like the wife of his father or preceptor: they are equal to his father's or his preceptor's wife.

"The wife of his brother, if she be of the same class,

must be saluted every day ; but his paternal and maternal kinswomen need only be greeted on his return from a journey.

“With the sister of his father and of his mother, and with his own elder sister, let him demean himself as with his mother ; though his mother be more venerable than they.

“3-55. Married women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by their husband and by the brethren of their husbands, if they seek abundant prosperity.

“3-56. Where females are honoured, there the deities are pleased ; but where they are dishonoured there all religious acts become fruitless.

“3-57. Where female relations are made miserable, the family of him who made them so very soon wholly perishes ; but where they are not unhappy, the family always increases.

“3-58. On whatever houses the women of a family not being duly honoured, pronounce an imprecation, those houses, with all that belong to them, utterly perish, as if destroyed by a sacrifice for the death of an enemy.

“3-59. Let those women, therefore, be continually supplied with ornaments, apparel, and food, at festivals and jubilees, by men desirous of wealth.

“3-60. In whatever family the husband is contented with his wife, and the wife with her husband, in that house will fortune be assuredly permanent.”

Chap. IX. verses 26, 27, 28, 29 :—

“When good women united with husbands in expectation of progeny, eminently fortunate and worthy of reverence, irradiate the houses of their lords, between them and the goddesses of abundance there is no diversity whatever.

“The production of children, the nurture of them when produced, and the daily superintendence of domestic affairs are peculiar to the wife.



"From the wife alone proceed offspring, good household management, solicitous attention, most exquisite caresses, and that heavenly beatitude which she obtains for the manes of ancestors, and for the husband himself.

"She, who deserts not her lord, but keeps in subjection to him her heart, her speech, and her body, shall attain his mansion in heaven, and by the virtuous in this world, be called *Sádhwí* or good and faithful."

There was a virgin by name *Sulubha*, a daughter of a *Kshattrya*. Not having found a proper match for her, and having been of a retired temper, she betook to devotion and became a hermit. Having heard that the king of the *Mithilas* was very learned, she went to see him. He received her, welcomed her, gave her a seat, gave her water to clean her feet, and gave her a repast. She was learned in esoteric philosophy, and tried to find out whether the *Rajah* was really a man freed from sins. He told her that he had gained knowledge from his *Guru*, and had been able to get rid of his ignorance without getting out of the house. She exhibited to him her psychical powers. He however told her that she did not appear to have conducted herself like a hermit. She proved to him that although he was much learned, yet he had not known the truth. She said that friends should undeceive a dupe. "Though not yet freed from ignorance and sins, you falsely imagine that you have been freed. I as a friend should point out to you that you are in a fool's paradise."

This anecdote shows the place women held in our golden age. Like their brethren, women were at liberty either to marry or not, and used to be very highly educated.

Like males, females were educated to the highest standard, and no religious truth was too secret to communicate to them. How a female hermit was wont to be received by a king and treated by him, is shown by this anecdote. In short, that both the sexes had the same privileges and were equal in importance, is clearly proved.

There was a lady known as *Savitri*. She had been so

highly educated that a great difficulty was experienced in securing a proper match for her. Her father sent her to travel over the country and select a bridegroom who might be equal to her. She travelled and selected a sickly son of a refugee, leading a pious life in the forest, and communicated her choice to her father. Her father came to know that the youth she had selected would not survive a year. He therefore tried to dissuade her. She however would not change her mind on the ground that she ought not to offer her hand to another person, as she had once fixed her mind upon him. She held that to do so was adultery in law, and that she would not be guilty of the same. In this difficulty her father consulted Narada, who, knowing the extent of her learning, advised her father to let her have her own way. She was married to the youth. She was his companion, and was able to rescue him from death, and secure him as her companion for a long time. Her biography has become so popular, that she has been made a saint of and worshipped annually. Whenever a girl under coverture salutes a matron, the latter says, "Become thou a Savitri."

Kykayee, a step-mother of Sri Rama, was a heroine. She shared the dangers of the battle-field with her husband the Maharajah Dasharatha.

A Brahmin had a daughter. She was so learned that Pandits were afraid to approach her. Her bloom of life thus passed away, leading a very pious life.

There was a queen so well versed in law and politics that she harangued her son who had fled from a battle-field. She told him that a warrior's duty was either to conquer the enemy or die on the field, and that if he followed any other course, he was no Kshattrya, but a thief. This amazon is said to have so expounded the duties of a warrior, that she induced her son to go to war again and return from it with success.

When Sri Rama asked his wife, Seeta, to stay at Ayodhya during his absence in the forests, she replied to him thus :

“What are you about, Rama ; you speak very lightly of a very grave subject. What you have said would be laughed at if heard by others. Father, mother, son, daughter-in-law, enjoy singly the effects of their acts : but the wife alone shares the effects of her husband's acts. I should therefore live in forests with you. The friend, guide, and philosopher of a wife is not her father, her children, herself, her mother, or friend. Whether in this or in the other world the husband is alone her friend, guide, and philosopher. If you march to the forests, I will walk before you, and make the path soft for you by treading upon grass and thorns. Wherever the wife resides, provided she is in the company of the husband, she is happy. I shall reside in the forests with you as happily as I was in the house of my father. I shall not care for all the world put together, but ever bear in mind the duties of faithful wives. I shall not be a drag upon you ; my hunger will not inconvenience you. Fourteen years is no considerable time to me ; let the time of forest life be a thousand years, or hundred times that period, provided I am with you, it will be a happy life to me. Even in heaven, without you I shall not be happy. If you think of leaving me behind in the house, you will surely cause my death.” When Sri Rama tried again to induce her to stay away, she referred him to the anecdote of the famous Savitri, and said that she would lead a forest life with Rama for any length of time, but would not live for a Muhurta or a short time without him.

A few words about another historical figure may not be uninteresting. It was Anasuya. Seeta met her during her husband's banishment, and was thus addressed by Anasuya : “Delighted am I to see you give up relations, position, wealth, and follow a banished husband ! She is entitled to high heavens who follows her husband whether he be in a city or in a forest.” The virtue of unselfishness has come to be called after her name.

“Tara, a lady among the aborigines of South India, was described by her husband, while he was on his death-bed,

to be a person whose judgment that anything was right was so certain, that it never proved otherwise. She was so learned that the truth in the most intricate questions was clear to her, and she foresaw events most accurately."

Mandodharee is another historical Aryan figure. She was married to that notorious Brahmin called Ravana. She was a model of a true wife. She fully knew the enormities committed by her husband, but was so faithful to him that death alone separated him from her. She was such a true and sincere companion and friend of him, that she most affectionately remonstrated with him on every occasion of his transgression, and besought him to give up vice and to be virtuous.

Within the past one hundred years, the name of the Maharanee Ahalyabai Holkar was prominently before the world. She was so good a woman that she is recollected from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and her memory is actually worshipped in several parts of India.

Many attempts have of late been made both by friends and enemies of Hindu Law to show that this law is partial to the male, and places the female entirely at his mercy, so much so as to make her his slave to the end of time. They have urged that attempts should therefore be made by liberal-minded well-wishers of India to emancipate her from this legal bondage, and to place her on a footing of equality with him with extraneous aid. Let us see how far Hindu Law is more partial to man than to woman.

1. If a wife dies, her husband may marry another wife (Manu, chap. v. verse 168).

If a husband dies, a wife may marry another husband (Manu quoted by Madhava and Vyadjanatha Dikshita; Parasara; Narada; Yagnavalkya, quoted by Krishnacharya Smriti; Agni Puran; Smriti quoted by Chetti Koneri Acharya and Janardana Bhut).

2. If a wife becomes fallen by drunkenness or immorality, her husband may marry another (Manu, chaps. ix. verse 80; Yagnavalkya, page 416, verse 73).

If a husband becomes fallen, a wife may re-marry another husband (Manu quoted by Madhava and several other authorities just mentioned).

3. If a wife be barren, her husband may marry another wife (Manu, chap. ix. verse 81).

If a husband be impotent she may marry another husband (Manu and several others just quoted).

4. In particular circumstances a wife may abandon her husband (Manu, chap. ix. verse 79).

A husband may abandon his wife if she be blemished, diseased, deflowered, or given him with fraud (Manu, chap. ix. verses 72, 73).

5. If a husband deserts his wife, she may marry another (Manu, chap. ix. verse 76, and several others just quoted).

6. If a wife treats her husband with aversion, he may cease to cohabit with her (Manu, chap. ix. verse 77).

7. A husband must be revered (Manu, chap. v. verse 154).

A wife must be honoured by the husband (Manu, chap. iii. verse 55).

8. A good wife irradiates the house and is a goddess of wealth (Manu, chap. ix. verse 26).

A good husband makes his wife entitled to honour (Manu, chap. ix. verse 23).

By some peculiar misfortune women lost their position in the latter civilization of Greece and Rome, and, after the advent of the Pandavas, in India. During the first ten centuries of the Christian era their position was miserable. Their position is thus referred to by Lord John Russell (vol. i. pages 147 to 149).

“But conformably to the observation of the philosophic Hume there is a point of depression as well as of exaltation, beyond which human affairs seldom pass, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progress. This utmost point of decline, society seems to have attained in Europe, as I have already said, about the middle of the tenth century; when the disorders of the feudal Government, together with the corruption of taste and manners consequent upon these, had arrived at their greatest excess. Accordingly from that era we can trace a succession of causes and events,

which, with different degrees of influence, contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and introduce order and politeness.

"Among the first of these causes we must rank chivalry, which, as the elegant and inquisitive Dr. Robertson remarks, though commonly considered as a wild institution, the result of caprice and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society in those times, and had a very serious effect in refining the manners of the European nations. . .

"Humanity sprang from the bosom of violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Those licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every species of outrage and every mode of oppression, who, equally unjust, unfeeling, and superstitious, had made pilgrimages, and had been guilty of pillage! who had massacred, and had done penance, touched at last with a sense of natural equity, and swayed by the conviction of a common interest, formed associations for the redress of private wrongs, and the preservation of public safety. So honourable was the origin of an institution generally represented as whimsical. . . . Chivalry, considered as a civil and military institution, is as late as the eleventh century. . . . When the candidate for knighthood had gone through those and other formalities, he fell at the feet of the person from whom he expected that honour, and on his knees delivered to him his sword. When he had answered suitable questions, the usual oath was administered to him; namely, to serve his prince, defend the faith, protect the persons and reputations of virtuous ladies, and to rescue, at the hazard of his life, widows, orphans, and all unhappy persons groaning under injustice or oppression. . . .

"Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were the characteristics of chivalry."

Sri Madhwa Acharya says that Drowpadi's part of the administration of the empire was to instruct the subjects what the duties of women were, to superintend the management of the palace and its treasury, to manage the finances of the empire and to teach religion to the people who had access to the palace.

Speaking of Sattyabhama he says that when she saw her husband tired and his enemy feeling pride at his strength, she fought with the enemy and deprived him of his arms. This shows how inured she was to war and to the use of arms, and how she accompanied her husband at the risk of her own life.

A wife of Yagnavalkya named Mitrayi refused to have the estate given to her by her retiring husband and told him that nothing perishable was worth possessing and that she would like to have that which was not perishable.

She learnt it from her husband, and eventually reached the footstool of the merciful Father.

There have been many famous females in India. Avvyar is a well-known name. Her moral teachings and her pure conduct have made her contemporaries and many a generation since not to forget many of the Aryan virtues. It is said there have been some such ladies in Telegoo lands among the few unparalleled Pandits of Bhooja. It is said that there was one named Seeta who was no inferior to Kalidasa.

Damayantee, a queen famous in the ancient annals of India, was described to be a lady unequalled in beauty, in intellect, in fame. When she was deserted by her husband, and when all attempts to discover him failed, she gave out that she would remarry, as Nala her husband had been lost. When this news was promulgated and numerous Rajahs were invited to win her, Nala found that, if he did not disclose himself to her, she would at length become the wife of another, and managed to be present with the Rajah under whom he was serving as a charioteer. Him she identified and recovered. Her conduct during her desertion by her husband forms a moral code for the conduct of women. She became so famous for her virtues that she has been immortalized by various authors among whom is our great Vyasa. Shakuntala was another famous Aryan lady. Her knowledge of the law, her morals, her arguments with her husband, her appeal to God, show the extent of the education which used to be given to females in ancient times.

Many other names might be mentioned, such as Gargi, Vachaknevi, Suvarchala, Vadavati, Badhra, Subhadra, Kalleyani Devi, Mukta, Boguee, Janabayis, and others.

With records showing the existence of such great personages among women despite the fact of the great dearth of history in our country, we have persons who hold that our women are no better than our chattels, that they can be sold, bartered, or given away, even against

their consent, that they have no option to lead a pious life of celibacy, that they must become the property of some male or other, that they should not be allowed time to be educated, but should be handed over to the tender mercies, very often of an aged person, while the female is a few months old, that marriage is no contract between a female and male, but a ceremony similar to the ceremony of branding a babe by the Guru. Will those who hold such views be so kind as to show, in the extensive works of Sanscrit literature now extant, any mention of a marriage between a baby female and a boy; to refer to any work in which the ceremony (which my countrymen are in the habit of celebrating) called by various names, when the actual consummation of the marriage takes place, was performed between any historical personages or to point out an instance in which a girl was given in a Brahma marriage without her consent?

Notwithstanding the great degeneration which has taken place among our society, there are remnants of our good laws and example among us. Our women though trodden down by the tyranny of men, yet maintain their equality and even superiority to men. There are many ladies of this description even now in existence. So much for the ladies of the Aryans of the East.

Coming to our own time, we see an Aryan lady in the West setting a noble model to the whole world. She was an accomplished girl; a prudent bride; a loving and affectionate wife; a caressing, but a disciplinarian mother; a matron of the highest social and moral virtues; a liege subject of the heavenly Father; a sovereign, governing the most enlightened, but at the same time a very troublesome people, not solely by the sword, but by securing a deep seat in their affection; a peaceful ruler at home, and contributor of peace in the neighbourhood, and one who always relied on the grace of God for success. This is our Queen Victoria.

Coming to India we see a lady well worthy of being



mentioned after this august name, viz., Maharanee Swernamoy of Casimbazar C. I. No misery when brought to her notice remains unalleviated.

So long as our females occupied a position as has been described the Aryans were invincible. Our decline commenced from the date from which we neglected women; and the prediction of Manu has been fulfilled. Rajah Ram Mohan Rai was a Sanscrit scholar, pious and true Aryan, a staunch believer in the Vedas, and was respected even by foreigners. He said about fifty years ago :

"It was at last resolved that the legislative authority should be confined to the first class, (Brahmins) who could have no share in the actual government of the State, or in managing the revenue of the country under any pretence; while the second tribe should exercise the executive authority. The consequence was that India enjoyed peace and harmony for a great many centuries. The Brahmins, having no expectation of holding an office or of partaking of any kind of political promotion, devoted their time to scientific pursuits and religious austerity, and lived in poverty."

"The first class, having been subsequently induced to accept employment in political departments, became entirely dependent on the second tribe, and so unimportant in themselves that they were obliged to explain away the laws enacted by their forefathers and to institute new rules according to the dictates of their contemporary princes." "With a view to enable the public to form an idea of the state of civilization throughout the greater part of the empire of Hindustan in ancient days, and of the subsequent gradual degradation introduced into its social and political constitution by arbitrary authorities, I am induced to give, as an instance, the interest and care which our ancient legislator took in the promotion of the comfort of the female part of the community, and to compare the laws of female inheritance, which they enacted and which afforded that sex the opportunity of enjoyment of life with that which moderns and our contemporaries have gradually introduced and established, to their complete privation, directly or indirectly, of most of those objects that rendered life agreeable."

"All the ancient lawgivers unanimously award to a mother an equal share with her son in the property left by her deceased husband in order that she may spend her remaining days independently of her children."

He names as his authority the following Rishis: (1) Yagnavalkya; (2) Katyayana; (3) Narada; (4) Vishnu; (5) Brahaspaty; (6) Vyasa. He goes on thus:

"We come to the moderns. The author of the Dayabhaga and Dayatatwa, the modern expounders of Hindu law (whose opinion are considered by the natives of Bengal as standard authority in the division

of property, among heirs), have thus limited the rights allowed to widows by the above ancient legislators."

"In the opinion of these expounders, every mother of the single son should not be entitled to any share. The whole property should, in that case, devolve on the son, and in case that son should die after his succession to the property, his son or wife should inherit it. The mother, in that case, should be left dependent on her son, or on her son's wife."

"Some of our contemporaries (whose opinion is received as a verdict by courts), have still further reduced the right of a mother to almost nothing. In short, a widow, according to the exposition of the law, can receive nothing when her husband has no issue by her."

"To these women there are left only three modes of conduct to pursue after the death of their husbands. First, to live a miserable life as entire slaves to others, without indulging any hope of support from another husband; secondly, to walk in the paths of unrighteousness for their maintenance and independence; thirdly, to die on the funeral pile of their husbands." According to the following ancient authorities, "a daughter is entitled to one-fourth part of the portion which a son can inherit." Brahaspati, Vishnu, Manu, Yagnavalkya, Kathyayana. "But the commentator on the Dayabhaga sets aside the right of the daughters." "In the practice of our contemporaries a daughter or sister is often a source of emolument to the Brahmins of less respectable caste." "These receive frequently considerable sums, and generally bestow them in marriage on those who can pay most." "They not only decry themselves by such cruel and unmanly conduct, but violate entirely express authorities of Manu and all other ancient lawgivers." "Both common-sense and the law of the land designate such a practice as an actual sale of females, and, if humane and liberal among Hindus, lament its existence as well as the annihilation of female rights in respect of inheritance introduced by modern expounders. They, however, trust that the humane attention of Government will be directed to these evils, which are the chief sources of vice and misery, and even of suicide amongst women. In general, however, a consideration of difficulties attending a lawsuit which a native woman, particularly a widow, is hardly capable of surmounting induces her to forego her right, and if she continues virtuous, she is obliged to live in a miserable state of dependence destitute of all the comforts of life; it too often happens, however, that she is driven by constant unhappiness to seek refuge in vice."

The moment we shall see this truth, and apply ourselves to restore our women to their position and power, the grace of our merciful Father will descend upon us, and we will once more become a great, moral, and religious nation, and will be convinced of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of His creatures and shall reach that position which once created the envy of all the other parts of the world.

R. RAGOONATH ROW.

## KARÁCHI AND ITS FUTURE.

A CRY has been heard from Karáchi to which it is hoped a deaf ear will not be turned by those who can supply the help invoked. In the very lucid and interesting Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency issued for the year 1886-87, Sind meets with a fair amount of attention ; not, perhaps, quite proportionate to her size and merits, but still sufficient to forestall any serious complaint of neglect by her outside rulers. The strongest point against these is their comparative disregard of the loss to their Northernmost Port of no less a sum than 174 lákhs of rupees in the two items of export and coasting trade, a loss which they seek to compensate by minor gains under other heads, and to account for by a failure of wheat-crops in the Punjáb and North-West. In Sind itself the cause of what is, commercially and financially, looked upon as a calamity, is attributed rather to the turn taken by the export trade of the Punjáb than to the diminution in its bulk ; and the argument that "trade always follows the cheapest and most convenient channel," is coupled with the statement that "Bombay enjoys, from her superior railway communications with the Punjáb, and especially with Delhi (the most important commercial mart in the province), an advantage that must injure the prospects of Karáchi so long as it has no corresponding facility of communication with Delhi." \*

Before, however, going into dry facts and figures, it may be well to take a retrospective survey of the port in question, in the course of which a few details may be brought to the reader's notice of which he was never cognizant, or which he may have lost sight of amid the thousand and one subjects that have seemed to him more important. If the critic detect more sentiment than reason in mixing up the political

\*. See article on Karáchi in *The Times* of 26th September last.

uses of by-gone days with the present commercial condition of the place, he will probably allow that a sudden rise in prosperity like that of Karáchi is abnormal in the British India of our day, and may not be compared to that of Chicago, Kansas City, and those marts of the New World which spring up, thrive, and grow into greatness as a matter of course.

Karáchi, the presumed ancient Krókala (Κρόκελα), written twenty years ago *Kurrachee*, and earlier still *Crotchey*, *Car-auchee*, and *Caraujee*, is a town which, however modern in world-wide importance, already has a history and reputation of its own, and which, whatever its failures and shortcomings, may not improbably become some day the recognized political port of India on the west. Such designation is put forward with caution and advisedly, yet many go further still and urge its claims to be called a "capital," both in a geographical and commercial as in a merely political sense.

Krokala, we are informed by Pliny, was twenty miles from the Indus; but the learned Dean Vincent\* is of opinion that this distance may be reduced a half to render the intended measurement after the English standard. Whatever glimpses of its existence in the classic or mediæval ages may be afforded us by old writers, it will answer our purpose to drop allusion to these, and come at once to the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, when the Province or Principality of Sind was subject to the Kalhora chiefs. Before A.D. 1725 there is evidence to believe that no town had occupied the site of Krokala—if this indeed be accepted as the classical Karáchi—for many years, perhaps for centuries; but at that particular period the silting up of Shah-bandar, then the principal port of Sind, together with a trade movement in the direction of "Crotchey Bay," caused the site to be again selected as convenient for a settlement. Some authorities allege that the present site of the town was

\* "The Voyage of Nearchus" (note, p. 195).

chosen in 1729 in substitution of Kharak-bandar, a position more to the north, whereas Shah-bandar is to the south ; but the probability is that the migration from Shah-bandar took place at a date later than that assigned. In any case a port was formed under the name of Kaláchi which in process of time attained prosperity, and, for reasons which need not here be fathomed, was ceded by the Kalhora rulers of Sind to the Khan of Kelat. The date of cession is not clear, nor is it clear how long it was held exclusively by the Brahúi. Indeed, there are grounds for supposing that it had more than once been interchanged by the fighting or contracting parties ; for Ghulam Shah Kalhora, who reigned from A.D. 1758 to A.D. 1770,\* had, according to Burton, wrested the district about Karáchi from the Brahúi people, and Lieutenant Porter, writing of the town in 1774, says that it had “formerly belonged to the *Bloaches*, but the prince of Scindi finding it more convenient for the caravans out of the inland country, which cannot come to Tatta on account of the branches of the Indus being too deep for camels to cross—obtained it from the *Bloaches* in exchange, and there is now a great trade.” † It is natural to infer that *Bloaches* are Balúchis, and that among these, or inhabitants of Baluchistan, are comprehended the Brahúis of Kelat—therefore, that at the time referred to, Karáchi was in the possession of the Kalhoras. Rennell’s note on the subject, showing that the “Prince of Scinde,” then in power, was of Abyssinian extraction, rather applies to the pedigree of the Khan of Kelat, but his further statement that he resided at “Haidarabad, on the Indus” carries back the application to the *de facto* rulers in Sind. One fact now remains to be reconciled, unless we accept the theory of repeated interchange. Karáchi must have been the Khan’s in 1795, for in that year he surrendered it to Mir Karm Ali, Talpur.

\* See Genealogical Tree of Kalhoras and Dáúdputras in No. XVII. “Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government,” New Series (1855).

† See note to Dean Vincent’s “Voyage of Nearchus,” p. 194.

The accession of the Talpúr Baluchis to power, on the downfall of the Kalhora dynasty, took place in 1781–86. Shortly after those years, English chroniclers of Indian events represent “Crotchey” as the port of communication with the Afghans available to India; for they relate that Tippú Sahib ordered his agents to land there, and convey their despatches thence to Zamán Shah, whose seat of sovereignty was in Kábul.\* Horsburgh—one of our oldest and most respectable authorities on the navigation of the Indian and China, as well as other seas, at the beginning of the present century—describes the town as situated “five or six miles from the anchorage, and about a mile from the side of a small creek which can only admit small boats.” He adds: “At this place a considerable trade was formerly carried on; the exports, cotton, almonds, raisins, dates, ghee, oil, and hides, and some piece-goods; in return, sugar, rice, pepper, &c., used to be imported. Cattle and goats may be procured, but at higher prices than at Sindy.” Morier must have passed it on his way from Bombay to Bushahr in 1808, but although he mentions one or more ports in Eastern Mekran, he has not a word for Karáchi. Pottinger, while equally reticent regarding it, in describing his journey to Somniáni and Béla in 1810, had forestalled any charge of neglect by a full and interesting account of his doings at the place some eight or nine months after Morier had proceeded up the Persian Gulf. He then speaks of “the fortified town of Kurachee,” which had become of “late years the principal seaport” of Sind, notes the bar at the mouth of its confined harbour, forbidding safe passage to “vessels drawing more than sixteen feet water;” and gives a somewhat detailed account of the dwelling-houses and defences. The last, consisting in Lieutenant Porter’s time of “a mud wall flanked with round towers”—not to reckon “two useless cannon mounted”—had been strengthened in A.D. 1797, under the Talpúrs, by the erection of a new fort. This, according

\* Ind. An. Register, 1799, quoted by Dean Vincent.

to Pottinger, had been "judiciously placed" to command the entrance to the position, and would have proved well adapted to its object if properly manned and provided, but the fortifications of the town itself were "mean and irregular." The same high authority, moreover, reported the number of houses inside the walls to be 3,250 by actual numeration ordered in 1813, when the population had increased to 13,000, or more than one-half in excess of the figures stated in 1809, the period of his personal visit.\*

After A.D. 1830, when the persons of Englishmen had ceased to be strange in Sind, and the names of Burnes and Pottinger had become familiar to the ears of the local chiefs and their retainers, full and frequent reports on the province and its towns were received in the offices of the Indian Government.

"The principal seaport of Sind," wrote Burnes, "is Curachee, which appears remarkable, when its rulers are in possession of all the mouths of the Indus; but it is easily explained. Curachee is only fourteen miles from the Pittee, or western mouth of the Indus, and there is less labour in shipping and unshipping goods at it than to carry them by the river from Darajee or Shahbunder in flat-bottomed boats. Curachee can also throw its imports into the peopled part of Sind without difficulty by following the windings of the stream to any of the harbours of the delta. As the ports in the river and Curachee are both subject to Sind, it is conclusive that that seaport has advantages over those of the river, which have led to their being forsaken by the navigator. In former years, before Curachee was seized by the Sindians, the exports from the delta were more considerable; since then all articles of value are brought to Curachee by land, and there shipped. The opium from Marwar is never put into a boat but to cross the Indus on its way to Curachee."

Later on he remarks :

"The vulnerable point of Sind is Curachee, and a landing might be effected on either side of the town without difficulty. The creek of Gisry (*sic*), to the south-east, has been pointed out as a favourable place, and I can add my concurrence in the opinion; but a force would easily effect its disembarkation anywhere in that neighbourhood." †

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\* "Travels in Beloochistan and Sind," part ii., chap. 9. (Longman, 1816.)

† Burnes: "Travels into Bokhara," &c., 2nd Edition, vol. i., p. 218. (Murray, 1835.)

The greater part of the foregoing extract bearing, as it does, immediately on the commercial advantages of Karáchi, involves considerations of even higher importance at the present day than when put forward by the able and intelligent politician-explorer through whose instrumentality her Majesty's Indian Empire has since derived so much of its expansion in the north-west. In such light it is accordingly commended to all whom it may more directly concern. First impressions may be insufficient guides to decisive action; but they have undoubted power when revived for retrospective analysis of that action by a new generation of critics. As regards the final and shorter passage extracted, we may note that, on February 2, 1839, Karáchi, and its defences fell into the hands of the British. Her Majesty's ship *Wellesley* (74), accompanied by troops and transports, appeared under the fort walls, much as she did some two years later at the mouth of the Canton river and before the forts of Bocca Tigris. History relates that, on that occasion, there was a summons to surrender, an exchange of shots, a disembarkation of soldiers, and the place was captured. It has been said that the garrison was found to consist of "an old man, a young woman, and a boy;" but we prefer to accept the postscript to the official report, stating how the commandant had informed his captors "that after the ships appeared in sight he, with ten other Baloochees, were sent to reinforce the fort, with orders to defend it to the uttermost." \* In neither case could the numerical strength of the defenders have been formidable.

We now pass on to Sind under British rule. For those readers who need to have their memories refreshed on the circumstances which brought about the full subjugation of the province, many books of reference might readily be suggested. But rightly to appreciate the question, they should add to the perusal of separate narratives, histories,

\* Brigadier Valiant, commanding the Sind Reserve Force, to Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief: Camp, near Kurachee, February 5, 1839.



and commentaries, the less entertaining study of parliamentary blue books. Of primary importance is one which bears on its title-page, "Correspondence relative to Sind, 1838-43." Strictly speaking, its contents are opened at a date long anterior to the period here specified. To give some notion of the purport of the whole volume, it will be sufficient to state that No. 1 paper is a "Treaty with the Ameers of Sind, of August 22, 1809," declaring "There shall be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Sind," followed by an apparently superfluous article, that "Enmity shall never appear between the two States;" while No. 475, the last paper recorded, is an extract of the Governor-General's despatch to the Secret Committee of the India House, dated March 13, 1843, justifying a notification embodied in the penultimate paper (No. 474), that a decisive victory had been gained at Míáni, which had "placed at the disposal of the British Government," with certain immaterial exceptions, "the country on both banks of the Indus from Sukkur to the sea." Karáchi was, of course, part and parcel of the conquered lands; more, however, be it said, from the right of separate acquisition than from necessary inclusion within the geographical limits somewhat vaguely expressed in the notification.

Its rise under the new order of things was rapid in the sense of Western progression. Constituted by the local Government its official headquarters, and capital of its most favoured though not most lucrative Collectorate, it became the permanent residence of the central staff, and the sanitorium of those functionaries whose functions were discharged at less healthy stations, such as Haidarabad and Shikarpur, the respective capitals of Collectorates bearing the same name. Sir Charles Napier was the first Governor of Sind, and ruled the country he had subdued from 1843 to 1847. On his departure in October of the latter year, he was followed by Mr. Pringle, of the Bombay Civil Service; no longer as Governor, however, but Commissioner

—the designation thenceforward adopted by the English head of the province. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere, also of the Bombay Civil Service, was next in succession, and took up the reins of administration in January, 1851, shortly after Mr. Pringle's resignation of office, holding the appointment until called to a seat in the Supreme Council of India in October, 1859. During Sir Bartle Frere's short absence, in 1856-57, General John Jacob, the well-known Commandant of the Sind Frontier, acted in his stead. The later commissioners were respectively Mr. Jonathan Duncan Inverarity and Mr. Samuel Mansfield, Colonel Sir William Merewether, and Messrs. Robertson, Havelock, and Erskine. With the exception of Sir William Merewether, a distinguished officer of the Sind Frontier Force, all these gentlemen were Bombay civilians. Mr. Henry Napier Erskine, C.S.I., of the Bombay Civil Service, and once Revenue Assistant-Commissioner in the province, filled the post of Commissioner in Sind till quite recently, when he was succeeded by Mr. C. B. Pritchard.

Under all the officers named, Karachi was the headquarters and capital of Sind, and as such the political and administrative centre of the province. Whatever its later status, there is no doubt that during the earlier *régimes*—and more or less up to 1876—it might reasonably have claimed to be a consultative power in the councils of the Supreme Government, at one time exercising a direct influence on the foreign policy of the Empire to the westward. In this respect even the control necessarily exercised from Bombay could be little more than nominal, unless strengthened by special knowledge and interest on the part of the Governor of that Presidency or his immediate staff. A brief sketch of occurrences from 1860 to 1872 will illustrate the truth of the proposition.

The first-mentioned year dawned shortly after Sir Bartle Frere had terminated his brilliant pro-consulate in Sind. His successor, an old civil servant of distinction in the Western Presidency, arrived in Karachi to take charge

of the duties of Commissioner. The material progress of the province up to this particular period will be noted later on. At present, reference will be made to its position as an outlying political territory—a sentry, as it were, of British India, in a state of continual watchfulness—not only reporting the sights that mainly attracted its attention, but interpreting their significance, and advising on the course to be pursued regarding them. It was the period at which India was about to enter the European telegraph system. One lesson learnt from the mutinies had been that a vast region such as this could not be governed from a distant island in the far West without availing itself of the extraordinary means of giving and receiving rapid intelligence vouchsafed to other countries through the agency of human science. Ocean telegraphy had not then been so thoroughly tested and organised as to make it supersede all other appliances, and the bold attempt to unite India with England by a line mainly overland had been authorized and entrusted to a young officer of Bengal Engineers.\* That this undertaking was not only started from Karáchi, as well by land as by sea ; and that the political preliminaries for the start were left to the discretion and disposal of the Commissioner in Sind, are both equally stubborn facts to be confirmed by the records. The reader might be asked to accept these assertions at the present time by way of parenthesis, were it not that the construction of the land lines in Mekran was unavoidably connected with those politics of the day in which Karáchi was so notable a factor.

Just above Karáchi, which itself very nearly marks the extreme northern point of the western shores of India, the coast line turns abruptly to the west, and presents a somewhat rugged but tolerably regular sea-front for some hundreds of miles in the same direction, till it again turns to the north and merges into the coast line of the Persian Gulf. This intervening tract between India and Persia is gene-

\* The late Colonel Patrick Stewart, C.B.

rally known as Mekran—a name supposed by many (and not without reason as regards geographical position) to be a corrupt form of *Máhi-khorán*, the literal Persian for Ichthyophagi, fish-eaters. It is practically the sea-front of the wider and more comprehensive “Baluchistán.” Here it was that it had been determined to lay the first section of the land line of telegraph which, commencing at Karáchi, was to terminate in London, with the aid of a cable from Gwádar to Bushahr, and no more sea-crossings than at the Bosphorus and Straits of Dover. Negotiations with local chiefs were unavoidable preliminaries to breaking ground in so large an enterprise; and it was necessary that these again should be preceded by inquiries on the personality of the chiefs, and their position as feudatories. Such procedure was highly opportune to the Karáchi authorities, for it enabled them to ascertain more definitely the true state of things in a quarter, the importance of which had been too little appreciated by Indian politicians generally. They themselves, as commanding the outlook, had been eagerly desirous of testing the truth of what might be ocular delusions or phantoms raised by exaggerated hearsay.

For many years the encroachments of Persia towards India had been stealthily carried on by her agents in Kerman and Western Baluchistán. These aggressive movements were made with a will and perseverance which showed something more than the mere desire of border extension; and to students of the situation it became clear that a scheme was in contemplation to absorb, if not the whole territory of the Khan of Kelat, at least so much of it as would reduce him to the position of a Jágírdár on the outskirts of British India. In the records of Sind will be found the original reports which called the serious attention of the Supreme Government to circumstances so significant of danger to the Empire whose interests it held in trust. These reports were continuous; and the statements they put forward were not allowed to rest upon mere supposi-

tion. Their truth was established by missions of specially deputed officers from Sind, at one time passing along the coast by sea, and touching at the principal ports of Mekran; at another moving by land marches from the Sind frontier to Gwádar; at another by a passage from the Persian side through the upper inland regions of Western Baluchistán to the sea-coast. It may be affirmed that from 1861 to 1869 there was incessant vigilance exercised to ascertain both the condition, and means to better the condition of affairs in the western half of Baluchistán, of which the Khan, our ally, knew so little; and the result of that activity was the despatch of a British Commissioner who, though mainly deputed for the settlement of a Perso-Afghan boundary, was enabled to inaugurate his proceedings by arriving at a demarcation of a Perso-Baluch Frontier. Great were the difficulties in the way of this arrangement, and many the questions arising from it; yet all are minor considerations compared to the one fact that its acceptance has provided a basis of peace and settlement of frontier to the countries concerned—a result which could not have been obtained unless the Commission had been sent.

Nor would that Commission have been sent at all had it not been brought about by the reports and researches of the officers in Sind. In fact, it is not too much to assert that the consolidation of the present dominions of the Khan of Kelat, and the integrity of Eastern Baluchistán, have been secured by measures originating in Sind and in Karáchi, the British capital of Sind. Not for one moment is it intended to depreciate the excellent work of later days, of which notice is to be found in the last number of *THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY*; the object is to show that a foundation for that work had been laid, the story of which is comparatively unknown to the outer world. By Eastern Baluchistán is meant that division of the “country of the Balúchis” which is under the sway of His Highness the Khan of Kelat. The Western division is that which had either belonged to Persia by right of conquest in the past century, or to which

her claims, pretensions, and eventual annexations extended prior to British intervention in 1871. On the latter occasion, as just stated, the limit of aggression was defined and accepted; and it is believed that the limitation has been strictly observed. Independently of information on the subject contained in the records of the Political Department—which for some reason has never been required in the form of a Blue Book—the geographical outcome of the work performed has been admirably summarized by Lieutenant (now Colonel Sir Oliver) St. John, whose “sketch of the geography of Western Baluchistán, to accompany the map of Western Frontier of the State of Kelat,” is a most instructive and lucidly expressed paper. A study of that summary will explain how large an extent of territory is even now in the hands of the Khan, whose possessions are so commonly but erroneously restricted to Kelat itself and the tracts immediately contiguous to the so-called British Baluchistán.

It is easier to speak of those who have passed away from among us in terms of praise than of censure; and it is both an act of justice and of pleasurable duty to dwell upon such honest work as we know them to have performed, where reward or acknowledgment has not been commensurate with value. The very recent death of the Rev. George Percy Badger renders allusion to his case appropriate. While reminded of the loss of a distinguished Orientalist, the world has been poorly enlightened on certain special public services rendered by the deceased gentleman. His active usefulness on the staff of Sir James Outram in Persia, and of Sir Bartle Frere at Zanzibar, in the one case as adviser in a military expedition, in the other as interpreting the objects of a delicate political mission, has been publicly noticed; but the aid which he largely afforded to the Governor of Bombay and Commissioner at Karáchi, in opening the sealed book of Baluchistán, has not perhaps received the recognition which it merits. Dr. Badger, an Arabic scholar and authority on the Eastern

Churches of exceptional qualifications, was one of the first expounders of the true condition of the Mekran coast in 1861, and the information gathered by him at Maskat in the spring of that year, with a view to establishing telegraphic communication with Europe by utilizing a whilom mythical sea-board, was embodied in a concise report of three pages of printed foolscap, as remarkable for political foresight as for geographical accuracy. The broad lines of action which he there suggested were practically those on which an understanding with the kingdoms or states concerned was finally reached; and, although many and unforeseen details, necessitating disposal, arose to complicate after operations, these should not be suffered to shut out from the retrospect the appearance of the early guiding star. Of the contributors to a result so conclusive to peace and progress, and so beneficial in all respects to the prosperity of the Kelat State and its outlying districts, as the clear definition of a Western boundary, mention only will be made of some three or four whose bodily presence is missed, but whose memories are green in the minds of many of their survivors.

To the statesmanship of Sir Bartle Frere, both when Governor of Bombay and Commissioner in Sind, and to the appreciative vigilance of General John Jacob, when guarding the Upper Sind frontier, Baluchistán owes a debt of deep gratitude for the care with which her interests were protected for many years on the east and west. Any change of policy in regulating the Khan's relations with his chiefs which may have been adopted in later years, does not detract from the credit due to those Englishmen who on one side supported the ruler at a time of internal anarchy, and on another checked encroachment on his boundaries by a foreign power. Neither Agincourt nor Waterloo lose a jot of their distinction because the Governments or Ministries under which they were respectively fought had views and opinions different from those of their successors. Mr. Inverarity, under the sanction of the Governor of Bombay, directed the first move into Mekran

which prepared the way for, and was quickly followed by the peaceful erection of four hundred miles of telegraph; and Sir W. Merewether, long prior to holding the reins of • Commissionership, had carefully studied and materially helped to elucidate the situation on the west, which, when Commissioner, old experiences enabled him to watch with threefold efficacy.

Nor when speaking of the dead must the natives be forgotten—those Sindis who enabled Frere, in the hour of danger to British India, to dispense with his legitimate garrisons and trust to resources drawn to himself from the hearts of the people he governed by the exercise of a strong will and tender unselfishness. One alone, whose familiar figure has for some years passed away from the midst of his countrymen, may be mentioned by name—the banker, Sett Náo Mull. Connected with what may be called the Intelligence Department of the Province from the first hour of British occupation, he remained until the period of his demise the most trustworthy informant and adviser of the several officers who administered the affairs of Sind. Especially from Baluchistán were his reports of value; for his agents in that quarter had means of ascertaining the state of local politics which even money might not always command; and his loyalty invariably led him to place their periodical budgets at the disposal of the ruling Power. His manner was singularly refined for a Hindu; and though his professed caution and occasional diplomatic reverse laid him open to the charge of entertaining *arrières pensées*, his error was very possibly in thinking diplomacy to be a virtue rather than a necessity. He had clearly a high opinion of European statesmen; and would speak of European politics with a significant smile, as though he saw through the hidden aims of empires and kingdoms, and could unravel tangled skeins which perplex the most learned politicians of the West. His memory is specially noted here; for Karáchi in its zenith was not Karáchi, without Sett Náo Mull.

One word on the benefits which Sind, and notably



Karachi, has received from the introduction into its schools of a systematic mental training. So far as can be gathered from the local reports, the progress of education in the country has been as marvellous as in our older regulation provinces. Scarcely had the department been brought under the conventional discipline prescribed by the Director-General of Public Instruction in Bombay, and an inspector appointed, than the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny interfered to check its advance. Money became scarce, retrenchment ran rampant, and the specially deputed officer was withdrawn. From 1857 to 1861 it was the privilege of the present writer to carry on a kind of provisional educational inspection, in addition to studies of a more obligatory nature in the political and revenue branches of administration. The period was not favourable to successful work in this direction, for men's minds were too much occupied with the prevalent revolution, and conjectures on its possible results, to regard seriously the demands of a department of State essentially peaceful and dependent on attention to minutiae; but to the credit of masters and pupils it should be recorded that during those years of disorder, schools and seminaries remained open and active, and continued to observe their old anniversaries of prize-giving and recitations. A wealthy Parsi merchant, accustomed to roam the wide world in pursuit of professional objects, revisiting London lately on urgent business, took occasion to revert with evident satisfaction to the days when, in the assumed character of Mr. Hardcastle, he took part in a scene from "She Stoops to Conquer." But figures will speak for themselves. In 1857, the year of the outbreak, the list for Sind shows:—

- 2 English Schools, supported by Government.
- 1   "   "   partly by Government, partly by local subscriptions.
- 1   "   Engineer School, supported by Government.
- 1 Normal Class                   "                   "
- 7 Vernacular Schools                   "                   "
- 18   "   "   partly supported by Government.
- 9   "   "   supported by municipalities and local funds.
- 2   "   "   receiving small grants of aid.

There were then, for the whole province, 223 pupils at the English, and 1,527 at the vernacular schools; total, 1,750. In 1886-87 there were 11 night-schools (including two for girls) with 2,056 pupils; 26 middle schools (including four for girls) with 1,287 pupils; and 375 primary schools, with 29,979 pupils, in all, 33,822 pupils! It is worthy of note that of the eighty-two boys at the English school at Karachi in 1857, only eight were Sindis.

So much space has been devoted to the political past of Karachi, that resort will have to be made to statistics rather than to history for a demonstration of its material prosperity. According to the most authentic local information procurable:

"The trade of Karachi before the conquest of Sind by the British, though in some degree extensive, on account of the importance attached to the river Indus as a means of commercial transit through the province, never appears to have developed itself to anything like the extent it was capable of doing. . . . During the sovereignty of the Talpurs all imports into Karachi were subjected to a duty of 4 per cent. on landing, and all exports to 2½ per cent. In 1809 the Customs duties were said to have realized 99,000 rupees, but in 1838 they rose to 1,50,000 rupees. In this latter year the value of the trade of Karachi was estimated at 21,47,000 rupees, or, including opium, 37,47,000 rupees."\*

In the Local Annual Directory for 1857 (the first number published), it is stated that the

"Miscellaneous external trade of the province for the year 1854-55 is estimated at 120 lakhs. This is exclusive of the Government Stores. The imports are about 60 lakhs, being a slight increase on the previous years. . . . The increase during the past year of the total export trade of the province amounting to 50 per cent. in excess of that of the previous year is satisfactory, and the more so since the increase is only for eleven months of the year."

Fifteen years later we find that for the year 1869-70, the figures for imports are 2,27,13,245 rupees, and for exports 1,89,04,841. In 1873-74 the imports, which had been gradually decreasing for three years, and partially recovered in the fourth, were rupees 1,77,4,239: while the exports had risen to 2,11,24,191. These figures are repeated below, *less stores and treasure on Government*

\* Hughes: "Gazetteer of Sind": 2nd edition: (Bell and Sons) 1876.

*account*, in order that they may be compared with similarly prepared statements for five successive years from 1882-83 to 1886-87, which immediately follow :—

1869-70: Imports, 2,08,25,072	Exports, 1,88,49,671	Total, 3,96,74,743
1873-74     "     1,65,55,987	"     2,02,59,191	"     3,68,15,178
1882-83     "     1,21,90,479	"     2,66,17,358	"     3,88,07,837
1883-84     "     1,44,04,562	"     3,76,26,757	"     5,20,31,319
1884-85     "     1,79,17,998	"     3,97,65,657	"     5,76,83,655
1885-86     "     2,18,40,874	"     4,41,50,250	"     6,59,91,124
1886-87     "     2,92,34,008	"     2,96,24,309	"     5,88,58,317

As before expressed, that a sudden fall of more than 145 lacs in the value of exports for the past year should have created a stir among the good merchants of Karachi is not surprising; and to whatever causes it may be attributed by outside authorities, they find a significance in the bare fact which no reasoning can render palatable. To revert to the last volume of the Bombay Administration Report, under the head "Trade," the section relating to Sind is thus opened :—

"Excluding Government transactions the total declared value of imports and exports of merchandise and treasure to and from foreign and Indian ports in 1886-87 amounted to Rs. 9,20,58,493.\* This amount was

\* The correct figures are as follows :—

#### SIND.

##### FOREIGN TRADE.

Imports :—		KARACHI.	
Merchandise ...	Rs. 2,81,37,826	...	Rs. 2,81,37,352
Treasure ...	" 10,96,656	...	" 10,96,656
Exports :—			
Merchandise ...	Rs. 2,89,17,587	...	Rs. 2,89,17,329
Treasure ...	" 7,06,980	...	" 7,06,980
	<u>Rs. 5,88,59,049</u>	...	<u>Rs. 5,88,58,317</u>

##### COASTING TRADE.

Imports :—			
Merchandise ...	Rs. 2,32,68,735	...	Rs. 2,28,51,221
Treasure ...	" 6,06,473	...	" 5,57,426
Exports :—			
Merchandise ...	Rs. 1,10,25,185	...	Rs. 97,46,529
Treasure ...	" 45,000	...	" 45,000
	<u>Rs. 3,49,45,393</u>	...	<u>Rs. 3,32,00,176</u>
Total for Karachi		...	<u>Rs. 9,20,58,493</u>

less than that of the preceding year by Rs. 1,00,14,250, a decline of 9·81 per cent. The decrease was in exports only, as the import trade continued on the increase. The import trade with foreign countries during the year reached Rs. 2,92,34,000, being an increase compared with the preceding year of nearly 74 lakhs. The export trade with foreign countries was very unfavourable, as it fell to the extent of Rs. 1,45,25,941. The coasting trade (imports and exports) for the year under review fell to the extent of nearly 29 lakhs. The aggregate trade of the year exceeded by nearly 64½ lakhs, the average of the past five years."

Any satisfaction to be derived from the statement that "the decrease was in exports only, as the import trade continued on the increase," must be regarded as more apparent than real, because it is in these exports that Karachi sees not only a main cause of prosperity, but a solid return for the large and continuous expenditure of labour and money she has incurred for the improvement of her harbour; and the loss of 145 lakhs on this particular account cannot but have a disheartening effect. That "the aggregate trade of the year exceeded by nearly 64½ lakhs the average of the past five years," is hardly so much to the point as that for three consecutive years—*i.e.*, those immediately preceding 1886–87—there had been a steady annual increase in the item of exports averaging almost 60 lakhs.

The case has been clearly stated in the columns of *The Times*, and an article in its issue of the 26th of September, followed by a letter of Sir Bradford Leslie, dated the 6th of October, 1887, may be taken as embodying local opinions on the facts, and intelligent suggestions for applying a remedy. From the former we take the following extracts:—

"The decline in the prosperity of a great Indian city, especially when it happens to be a seaport of the greatest possible military and political importance, is a matter that calls for the serious and prompt attention of the Government of India. If there was one town in India which from its past seemed destined to uninterrupted progress in wealth and prosperity, that place was Kurrachee. Its growth has been extraordinary during the fifty years since it first emerged from the obscurity of a Belooch fishing village, and up to little more than twelve months ago the trade returns confirmed the belief that Kurrachee was destined to rival Bombay as a great seaport and outlet of trade for Western India. This prospect has received a sudden and unexpected check, and the trade of Kurrachee, instead of increasing at its former and what seemed almost the normal

rate, has declined during the present year in a marked degree, as the following figures will testify. In the first eight months of the present year, the exports of wheat, which is of course the principal article exported, were 463,815 cwt., whereas in the corresponding period of 1886 they amounted to 2,737,372 cwt., or a fall in a single year to one-sixth of its former dimensions. In rice the decline has been equally marked. In the same periods the figures are for this year 9,741 cwt., and for 1886, 110,520 cwt., or a fall to one-eleventh of its quantity in twelve months. The imports, chiefly in piece-goods and iron, already reveal the consequences of this diminished export trade, but they will not show its full effect until next year. The first signs of this coming change were perceptible in 1886 itself, when in the Punjab Administration Report it was stated that 'the trade with Bombay shows a remarkable increase, both as regards imports and exports, while the trade with Kurrachee has fallen off under both heads,' but it was not expected that the year 1887 would be marked by such a deplorable development of the same tendency."

Three memorials to the Viceroy, and one to the Government of Bombay, were presented by the perplexed Sindis; and the representation of their grievances was accompanied by an expression of their wants:—

"What the commercial community has asked for is 'a line of railway from Hyderabad to Omerkote in Scinde, and from Omerkote to Pachbadra in the Jodepore State, and thus connect the North-Western Railway with the Bombay and Baroda line and the Rajpootana State Railway.' This line would not exceed 240 miles in length, and it is stated by the memorialists that the Maharajah of Jodepore, through whose territory it passes for 100 miles, would be willing to construct that portion at his own expense. It would provide Kurrachee with that direct railway communication with Ajmere, Agra, and, above all, with Delhi, the want of which has been attended with such unsatisfactory results."

It would, moreover, as truly set forth, "have an immense military advantage in securing direct railway communication between the Indus, and therefore Quetta and Pishin, and the strong garrisons of Mhow, Jhansi and the Bombay Presidency."

On the other hand, Sir Bradford Leslie states with considerable force an argument for a more thorough alternative. Fully agreeing with the Karachi Memorialists on the military and political importance of the proposed line of communication, and not wanting in sympathy with their legitimate aspirations, he admits that the 240 miles of

railway would connect their capital with Ajmir, Agra and Delhi. But—

- “The distance from Kurrachee to Delhi would be 836 miles, against 888 miles from Bombay to Delhi ; but the advantage of fifty-two miles in point of distance would be outweighed by the fact that 731 miles of the route of the proposed railway from Hyderabad upwards would be on the narrow or *mètre* gauge, as against 574 miles only on the route from Bombay to Delhi. This consideration still leaves the advantage in point of time and cost of transport in favour of Bombay ; and, further, allowing for the advantage of avoiding break of gauge and transshipment, and the higher speed and lower cost of working on the broad gauge, it is even probable that when the Sukur bridge is finished the existing route from Kurrachee *viâ* the Indus Valley would, as far as Delhi, still have the advantage in expedition and punctuality over the proposed much shorter narrow-gauge line *viâ* Hyderabad and Pachpadra, involving, of course, transshipment from broad to narrow gauge at Kotu, just as at present troops moving between the Punjab and Bombay are frequently despatched *viâ* Jubbulpore over the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsula Railways in preference to the route *viâ* the Rajpootana and Bombay and Baroda Railways, notwithstanding the saving of 300 miles by the latter route.”

He then reverts to the inconvenience that would be caused by making Karachi dependent on the Rajputana narrow-gauge lines, and adds :—

“The only proper and, in the long run, the most economical means of affording the necessary connection is by an independent standard gauge line from Kotri, on the Indus Valley Railway, opposite Hyderabad, *viâ* Omerkote and Jodhpore direct to Delhi, which would reduce the distance between Kurrachee and Delhi to 720 miles, thus placing that most important mart 168 miles nearer the seaboard than it is at present, and reducing the distance of other neighbouring trade centres in like proportion.

“Taking into account the saving of haulage, combined with the advantage of uniformity of gauge, thereby avoiding break of bulk, and the superior speed and convenience of the standard gauge train service, it is certain that the new direct line would secure for Kurrachee a substantial share of the import and export trade of Upper India—at least sufficient to pay interest on the cost of constructing the line, and thus protect Government from risk of loss.

“The Rajpootana railways were originally designed as disconnected feeders to the East Indian, the Great Indian Peninsula, and the Bombay and Baroda Railways ; their connection and conversion into a through route which was the result of the importance of the through traffic, which had not been foreseen ; and the same remark applies to the Nagpore-Chattisgarh narrow-gauge line, which is now being converted to broad-gauge as part of the Bengal-Nagpore Railway. By boldly facing the problem and recog-

nizing the vast importance of the proposed line of communication, not only to Kurrachee, but to the Indian Empire, Government will be saved from making a similar mistake in the present instance, which would be infinitely more inexcusable at the present date, when a standard gauge line can be made at a cost per mile less than that of a narrow-gauge line ten or twelve years ago."

The concluding passage in Sir Bradford Leslie's letter is reproduced, because his remarks on the bridging of deserts have a bearing on more railway lines than those projected for India, and the practical remarks of so good an authority on the geographical position of Karáchi with reference to communications between India and Europe, are worthy of very serious consideration :—

"It is remarkable that the aspirations of a comparatively small trading community should first have drawn attention to a line of communication which is of the highest importance to our Indian Empire, and which, owing to Kurrachee being 200 miles nearer to Suez than Bombay is, must become the mail route between Europe and Upper India. No doubt the special character of the works involved, and the supposed difficulty in constructing and working a line of railway over a more or less desert tract, and the absence of local traffic, accounts for this important route having been so long neglected; but there is no case of improvement in communications so specially within the province of railways to effect as the bridging of deserts, of which the Cairo and Suez line was the first, and the Russian Transcaspian Railway is the latest instance. And now that a low cost of construction and a valuable through traffic with Delhi and the upper provinces is assured for the proposed line, it would be a fatal mistake to block the route by a makeshift indirect connection with the already overtaxed narrow-gauge railway system of Rajpootana."

The proposed railway, then, would be in the form of a direct trunk line from Kotri on the Indus Valley Line, already connected with Karáchi, *via* Haidarabad on the opposite bank of the river, Jaisalmir, Bikanir, and Rohtak, to Delhi, with branches connecting Haidarabad and Rohri, and Bikanir and Baháwalpur. Its cost and profits, carefully estimated by its projectors for scrutiny by professional critics, are contained in the printed prospectus or memorandum; but something might have been added of other advantages such as opening out comparatively hidden treasures in Rájputana. There is, perhaps, no better

specimen of a Rajput city, and of the skill of Rajput masons and architects than to be found in Jaisalmir, its beautiful Jain temples, picturesque streets, elegant buildings, archways, tanks, and sepulchral monuments (*chatris*).

In conclusion, the following extract from a speech of the present Commissioner in Sind,\* when proposing the toast of Prosperity to the Karáchi Chamber of Commerce, may with propriety be quoted :—

“Karáchi possesses a safe and commodious port, one that I believe is second to none in India as regards the facilities it affords for the landing and shipping of goods, but so long as it has but a single line of railway communication, and that too with only the North-Western corner of the Empire, its trade must necessarily be subject to fluctuations, as the capacity of the districts traversed by the railway to furnish raw produce for export and to take in exchange the manufactures of Europe, vacillates with the rainfall from year to year. For a steady trade as well as for any great expansion of trade, Karáchi must be dependent on the construction of new railways that will open up the fertile tracts that lie beyond the desert that hems in the whole eastern frontier of Sind. The interchange of trade between Karáchi and those tracts is now practically impossible, but Karáchi, from its geographical position, might serve them more conveniently and with greater economy than any other part in India. The Chamber of Commerce and the people of Sind are fully alive to this fact, and have done all in their power to help their case by bringing its circumstances under the consideration of Government in frequent memorials, and I may venture to say with certainty, that the Government will lend a favourable ear to their representation.”

F. J. GOLDSMID.

\* As reported in the *Sind Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1887.



## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

ALTHOUGH not directly affecting India, the event of the quarter is unquestionably the death of the Emperor of Germany, upon whose word and influence depended the issues of war and peace not merely in Europe, but with regard to the Eastern Question, now again placed on the council-tables of the Great Powers, and the mere mention of which suffices to revive all the Turkish and Central Asian problems in which England and India are so much interested. It is a well-known fact that among the most experienced and influential financiers of the Continent it had become an axiom that there would be no war as long as the Emperor William lived, and a very striking illustration of the accuracy of this view was afforded a few months ago by the Czar's visit to Berlin, and the subsequent explaining away of the clouds which had gathered so thickly over the relations of Germany and Russia. It is not saying too much to declare that if the Emperor William had died last year, the Czar would never have gone to Berlin, the misunderstanding between the Russian ruler and Prince Bismarck would not have been cleared up, and at this moment the two Empires would be on the eve of war, if indeed it had not already commenced. A more striking testimony to the personal influence of the Emperor William could not be desired by his most ardent admirers than that he, the great conqueror and leader of soldiers, should be, by the free admission of all, acknowledged as the chief bulwark of European peace during the last ten years.

Now that he is gone we have to reckon with a different situation, for from the armed camps of Europe has departed the one moderating influence which was potent in several of

them. The powerful rulers who control vast hosts of fighting men, and who, in the pursuit of national policy, must frequently feel the temptation to test the value of their elaborate and costly preparations for war, will henceforth have greater difficulty in controlling their inclinations; and if the pacific disposition of the Emperor Frederick is a factor in favour of peace, so far as the action of the German Empire is concerned, it must also be remembered that it may tend to precipitate a single-handed conflict between Austria and Russia. Difficult as it is to measure the meaning or fathom the object of Prince Bismarck's policy, we shall not err in saying that he wishes to accomplish two things before allowing the full fury of Teuton and Slav animosity to have its vent; and they are, to vanquish France in the inevitable struggle, and to induce, or involve, this country into becoming an active ally of Austria in the evolution and solution of the Bulgarian question. It will be to the interest of this Empire if he succeeds in the latter of these objects, for we can only hope to put an end to Russia's aggressive schemes in Asia by contributing to a complete and crushing overthrow of the Slav Empire in Europe. But we have now to expect, not the deliberate working out of a well-matured plan of international diplomatic and military action, but the reckless marching forward to certain goals which can only be reached by the clear establishment of superior force. The English people, who are not in the least more domestic or less military than the German, seem to have a morbid dislike to enter upon alliances in order to prevent certain contingencies. This is particularly unfortunate, for the peace of the world mainly depends on the degree of confidence with which Lord Salisbury may interpret the national sentiments that Austria and Italy—particularly the former, which can never be a rival of ours, commercially or politically—represent interests and policies identical with our own. So far as the Eastern Question is concerned, the present year may see nothing but discussion, missions, and perhaps conferences, but at any moment the merest accident

may bring Germany and France face to face. When war does come there is one thing assured, and that is, there will be no possibility of confining it to the two Powers who may commence it. For these reasons the European outlook is extremely gloomy. There is no sheet anchor for the believers in peace to cling to, as there was while Emperor William lived, and it becomes more and more necessary for this country to take up a fixed line of policy, based on the fact that Russia and France are the only two countries that can seriously injure our commerce or threaten our Empire. Our policy should not be based on sentiment, but on sound practical interest.

The resignation of Lord Dufferin is a matter of regret. Coming after a Viceroy with whom we have no sympathy, and whose actions were, in our opinion, most mischievous, Lord Dufferin succeeded in restoring the belief that Englishmen were still confident that they, and they alone, could govern the peninsula of India. Lord Dufferin has governed India during the trying period of the Afghan frontier crisis, the annexation of Burmah, and the growing financial difficulties. No one can say, with regard to these or other events, that he has shown any shortcomings, and in comparison with his immediate predecessors he has been undoubtedly successful. But something more than this was expected from Lord Dufferin, and it may be his bad fortune, or the consequence of the new conditions of Viceregal authority, that there should be some feeling of disappointment with regard to his Indian career among even his most sincere admirers. Looking back upon the events of the last four years, we have no doubt that Lord Dufferin's chance of becoming famous was in connection with the Penjdeh incident and the Rawul Pindi conference. If he had sent from the latter place the intelligence that the Ameer insisted on the retention of Penjdeh—instead of that the Ameer left the matter in our hands—Mr. Gladstone could not have gone back from his memorable speech, and we should have carried the day by peaceful or by warlike means.

Complaisance may constitute a claim on a Ministry, but it is not a title to fame. Nor, again, was Lord Dufferin always happy in his selection of officers for places of responsibility and difficulty. Of such the most striking instance was Burmah; but there were others less known but not less to be regretted. As the supreme dispenser of the Queen-Empress's authority in India, Lord Dufferin has shown himself, as in many other capacities, a very clever man; but he has disappointed those who expected that he would prove another great Pro-Consul like the Marquis of Dalhousie. He is to be succeeded by the Marquis of Lansdowne.

An important event connected with Afghanistan during the past quarter has quite escaped notice. When the Ameer left Cabul, at the beginning of the year, for Jellalabad, he nominated his eldest son, Habibullah, his representative in the capital, and handed over to him the sword of state. This has been considered by good authority as tantamount to proclaiming him his heir, and if this supposition be accurate, one of the weakest elements in the stability of the situation in Afghanistan has been eliminated. It would also be satisfactory as finally disposing of what seemed the fairly authenticated stories of the Ameer favouring one of his younger sons, for the disintegration of Afghanistan has often been caused in times past by civil wars arising from the ruler's undue preference for junior members of his family. With regard to the capacity of Habibullah some uncertainty is felt. He was originally considered a boy of much promise, but latterly doubts have been entertained whether he possessed the courage and energy with which he was credited. No doubt his father will judge his merit by his success or failure in the difficult post of Governor of Cabul.

The Ameer's visit to Jellalabad has been prompted by the desire to bring the tribes north and south of the Cabul river into better subjection to his authority. Those tribes have always retained a semi-independence of the Afghan ruler; but, with the exception of the Shinwarris, they have

never shown open hostility towards his government. It is not known with any degree of certainty whether Abdurrahman intends making an expedition up the Kunar Valley or merely to inflict chastisement on the Shinwarri marauders who gave so much local trouble last year. The balance of probability is in favour of the latter supposition, and the Ameer cannot be blamed for dealing with the rebellious Shinwarris in the same manner as he did with the more powerful Ghilzai rebels. In this matter he is acting within his right, and as any other active and proud prince would. Success is also to be attained without any severe effort. If the Ameer has larger designs in this quarter, we suspect that they are directed not against the other tribes of the Punjab frontier, but against the ruler of Chitral, who exercises independent sway between Cashmere and Kafiristan, and up to the principal passes of the Hindu Kush. The execution of that project would involve the Ameer in a difficult mountain war; but success might not be beyond his reach, considering his great military and financial resources. The Government of India would watch such an undertaking with natural anxiety and misgiving, for the chief of Chitral and his son have given many proofs of goodwill and cordiality to their representatives.

The final demarcation of the new Afghan frontier on the Oxus, and also on the Kushk and Murghab, was effected during the quarter. Beyond noting the fact, the event does not call for further comment. We may state, however, that the Russian officers who were associated with the earlier work of the Commission, have changed their views with regard to the advantages of an ethnographical frontier, and that they think the only lasting boundary will be a good geographical barrier, now defined as the Hindu Kush! This statement throws an interesting light on the next probable development of Russian plans in Central Asia. Our representatives are able to testify to the excellence of the railway from Charjui to the Caspian, as well as to the military efficiency of the Russian

troops which they saw at different places. With the knowledge our Government has thus acquired, it is impossible for us to ignore the strength of the Russian position in Central Asia. Since the return of the members of the Commission, the Trans-Caspian Railway has been finished to Bokhara, and General Annenkoff has left for Siberia, to seek new laurels as a great railway constructor by connecting the Baltic and the Pacific with an iron road.

The position in Indo-China remains unchanged, except by the fact that France has just opened her deep-water repairing dock, for the largest ironclads, at Saigon; and that the Siamese Government has given a concession to an English syndicate for the construction of a railway from Bangkok to Zimmé. The latter event, if literally true, must greatly assist the realization of the schemes which Messrs. Colquhoun and Holt Hallett have so energetically advocated, and ably described. For ourselves, we entertain not the least doubt that if our policy at Bangkok is only consistently vigorous and ably represented, the policy of Siam will always be more favourable to our interests than to any other. In the construction of railways lies the only prospect of developing the great natural resources of Upper Burmah, the Shan States, and Siam, and the wisdom and friendship of the Siamese ruler and his ministers will do much to attract English capital to legitimate enterprises in Indo-China.

Mr. John Frederick Heyes, of Magdalen College, Oxford, sends us the following communication on Geography at the Universities *à propos* of Colonel Holdich's article in our January number :

"Honour to whom honour. It will then be only fair that the influential readers of THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW should acquire a little more geographical information than Colonel Holdich, in his valuable article in the last number of this Review, gave them on one important movement which is full of significance for the immediate future. A loyal and true Oxonian may be pardoned for being anxious to correct the gallant officer's statement that 'a geographical professorship has been founded at Cambridge.' *Absit non omen*; but it is Oxford who leads the way. This may

in part be due to the persistence with which the friends of this neglected subject have long pleaded for its separate recognition, and in part to the growth of historical, scientific, and Oriental studies. This fact and the periodicals of the day have given rise to an increased desire to know something of the areas concerned and the physical environments of the 'new thing,' which has again and again forced itself upon the attention of all, Mediterraneanographers included.

"Geology began with its University Reader ; but in the second generation we behold professors both of geology and of mineralogy. So geography has started with a Reader. The position is, however, practically that of a Professor-Extraordinary on the Continent. Our Reader receives less pay, but is bound to do more work than some of the Professors. Nobody will object to that. The first two courses of lectures by the first professor of geography within the British Empire, therefore, began in Oxford in October of the Jubilee year. Now that the example has been set in high places, in

'the sacred nursery of blooming youth,  
Where England's flowers expand ;'

it must needs follow that one professor, however energetic and expansive, will not suffice for the hundred millions of English-speaking peoples. Other Universities and University Colleges are sure to distinguish themselves by following suit. Cambridge is to have a short course of lectures by the President of the Royal Geographical Society this spring. They will doubtless demonstrate the fact that geographers are not merely 'snappers-up of unconsidered trifles,' and will help to remove the financial and other difficulties which are lions in the way of the academic circles of *Alma Mater*.

"Undoubtedly we may expect great value from the opportunities which our embryo statesmen at Oxford and Cambridge will soon have in placing their knowledge of international politics on nature's basis, and we must heartily agree with Colonel Holdich in the importance of the study of acquiring *new* knowledge, and in the making as well as the meaning of maps. We have as a nation paid dearly, at times, for our ignorance. Let it be known far and wide that the only great practical consolation is now failing us. I refer to the worse, or at least equal, ignorance and indifference of other European nations in the political potterings with extra-European matters during the last twenty years. The alarm has been sounded in the commercial as well as the political world. We may view with comparative complacency the increase of the National Debt or the loss of some distant and party-disputed advantages at Borioboola Gha ; but when many an individual John Bull begins to feel lighter in pocket, or sees his neighbours winning over his customers, he pricks up his ears and opens his eyes. Thus we have recently seen a provincial town start a Geographical Society at a time of serious commercial depression. And we even see Chambers of Commerce listening to a long report on Commercial Education. When it becomes more patent that geography has great significance to the whole nation, we may expect not merely more geographical societies, but a professor of geography in every university and higher college in the land.

"For a time there will doubtless be the unfortunate compromise, as there has been in France, of a single chair for 'history and geography' or

for 'geology and geography.' The first in the field will naturally assert themselves ; but just as Germany has discouraged this superhuman combination, so geography—the great dual-controlled of the sciences—will be allowed to get on her own legs, helping and being helped, and to attain a maturity which shall enable her to bear children to be a blessing to her country and to the world's hope of progress.

"Meanwhile it cannot be too widely known that, although the advance has been very recent, there are, chiefly on the Continent, about a hundred geographical societies, and six score periodicals devoted to a subject which still enjoys the doubtful blessing of damnation without representation—Oxford alone excepted in the year of grace and jubilee. There are plenty of professorships on the Continent, and their holders find abundance of good work to do. Why should the great world-empire-ocean-commonwealth (*pace* Freeman, Froude, and Seeley) lag behind in this matter? Granted that professors do not make a great nation, still less do ignorant politicians. But who can tell the benefits conferred on the nation by England's sturdy sons, who in our other great ocean queen's reign took somewhat of the enthusiasm of Richard Hakluyt of Christ Church,\* Oxford, for geography, and went forth to lay foundations of England's maritime supremacy?

"It is fitting that Oxford should in this matter be the elder sister. Nigh three centuries ago a young scholar of Magdalen College took his degree and 'read several lectures on geography, to which his genius naturally lead him.' These lectures, given by Peter Heylyn in 1619 in our college hall, were the beginning of the first popular English book on geography. In the days of an *Asiatic Review*, to say nothing of other sources of knowledge, it is instructive to see what an extraordinary basis of Geosophy Prince Charles and his statesmen would have had for dealing with Eastern questions had they then arisen. Yet have we as a nation of educated men made much palpable progress in our geosophic perceptions?

"India is bounded on the East with *China* ; on the West, with the river *Indus*, from whence it taketh denomination ; on the North with *Tartarie*, the South with the Ocean.'

"Such an answer to a boundary question would not suffice a Holdich or a Strachey nowadays ; but is it so very far different from what we should get from some of our Browns, Jones, and Robinsons, who may decide by their votes and influence that precious men, or even cheap money—worst of all, priceless opportunities—shall be ignorantly or wantonly wasted for the benefit of 'the nation,' or even to oblige a 'whip'? May the scorpion of an uneasy conscience be with all such until they, and all those who have the opportunity, recognize, in their place and in its way, that to repeat the pithy words of the noble Chancellor of the ancient University of Oxford—

THERE IS SUCH A THING AS GEOGRAPHICAL NECESSITY."

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\* The University Reader of Geography, Mr. Mackinder is also a Christ Church man.



## REVIEWS.

*The Bombay Records.*

MR. FORREST'S labours among the records of the Bombay Government have resulted in the addition of two exceedingly interesting volumes to the "Maratha Papers," published and noticed by us two years ago. ["Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat." Home Series. Two vols. Edited by GEORGE W. FORREST. (Bombay Government Press.)] The greater portion of the first volume consists of letters and diaries relating to the factory at Surat, between the years 1630 and 1781. They contain an immense amount of curious and valuable information, not only about the commercial and political affairs of the East India Company, but also on the subjects of the mode of life followed by Englishmen resident in the country, and of their relations with the natives. This is to be gleaned here and there throughout the volume, and many a casual remark or singular fact brought before the Council at one of its consultations throws a flood of light on the state of early Anglo-Indian society in Western India. There is, however, one complete literary gem of the first water in Sir George Oxenden's account of his defence of the Surat factory against Sivaji, now published for the first time. The bulk of the second volume consists of selections from the Bombay diaries between 1722 and 1788, but in an appendix are given documents relating to a variety of subjects from the treaties relating to the surrender of Bombay to an attempt to colonize Borneo, and a diary of the Persian conqueror Nadir Shah during the last months of his reign. These volumes contain much new material towards the history of the East

India Company, which is sure to be written sooner or later, now that our latest investigations of the manuscript records still happily existing both in London and in India are establishing the incompleteness and frequent inaccuracy of the hitherto accepted standard work, "Bruce's Annals." Among those who have brought this hidden wealth of knowledge to light no one deserves more credit than Mr. Forrest, and the Viceroy is to be complimented on having provided him with further opportunities at Calcutta. At the same time we should like to see an equally sustained effort made here with regard to, as we have reason to believe, the far greater abundance and importance of documentary matter to be found in the India Office, and to bring out in a worthy form the most important and most interesting material relating to any particular place or special subject. We will justify this suggestion by stating that the bulk of, if not all, the matter placed in so interesting a form before the reader by Mr. Forrest is to be found in the manuscript volumes deposited in the India Office. To understand this it must be remembered that the annals (diaries, letters, consultations, &c.) were drawn up in duplicate, and often in triplicate, for despatch home as well as for use in India, and consequently the same evidence may and does exist both in India and at Westminster. The two sources only supply independent information where the ravages of time or the neglect of man have dealt heavily with these treasures, and even then we suspect that the India Office would not come out as being more indebted than it could repay. The admission has to be made that records were sent home for preservation, and not kept in India for that purpose—so that no covert insinuation is intended against the Indian authorities for not taking better care of their archives.

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*Manchuria.*

THIS is an extremely interesting volume ["The Long White Mountain, or a Journey in Manchuria," by H. E. M.

JAMES, with Illustrations and Map. (London: Longmans and Co.)], and so far as we have seen it noticed its real merit has not been sufficiently appreciated. Having said this, Mr. James will forgive our strongly recommending the reader to begin his perusal of the work at p. 215, and to read thenceforward to the last line. In the 200 pages that follow is contained a graphic and original account of a most interesting part of China, the cradle of the present dominant race in that empire, the sacred home of the reigning dynasty, with which we have not been made so familiar by any writer, since the Jesuits employed by the Emperors Kanghi and Keenlung, and which has been rendered of the greatest present importance by the proximity of Russian and Chinese colonists along an extensive frontier passing through a fertile and tempting region. The first half of the volume, however ably it may be compiled, is still second-hand information, convenient, no doubt, for the ordinary reader of a book of travels, but still not of a nature to enhance the author's reputation among serious and well-informed readers. But of the personal experiences of Mr. James, it is difficult to speak too highly. He visited what to our mind has always been the most interesting part of modern China, and for the greater part of his journey he found an unbeaten track. He tells what he saw clearly and in unaffected language, and as he was very much in sympathy with his hosts he came away with good impressions of the country and the people. The reader will not find many books of travel in China which contain so much new matter as is preserved in this volume. Most travellers in China unfortunately cross one another's steps, and consider their chief function to be the contradiction or variation of the opinions expressed by their predecessors. We have a very strong opinion that travellers should stick to facts and leave opinions for those who comment on their journeys; and it is for this reason that we most strongly commend Mr. James's work to our readers. He has given us much information that we could not find elsewhere, and for that

service his volume will always find an honourable place on our own library shelves.

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*Sir Douglas Forsyth.*

THE late Sir Douglas Forsyth was a very favourable representative of the best class of Anglo-Indian civilian who began his career under the old John Company, passed through the trying ordeal of the Mutiny, and bore a responsible share in the subsequent administration of the Peninsula under the new conditions of the Queen's rule. A clear and detailed narrative of his career such as is supplied by his daughter in this volume [*"Autobiography and Reminiscences of Sir Douglas Forsyth, C.B., K.C.S.I.,"* edited by his daughter. (London : Richard Bentley and Son.)] could not fail to be interesting, and to serve as a model for every young aspirant to the honour of serving his country in the East. Sir Douglas Forsyth's chief exploits were in connection with the Sikh protected States, and the arrangement of supplies and transport during the Mutiny, the mission to St. Petersburg in 1869, the Kooka outbreak in 1872, the two visits to Eastern Turkestan, and the mission to Mandalay. With regard to several of these employments, and to his share in the course of events, Sir Douglas was much criticised at the time, and it cannot be said that full justice has ever been done to his services and to the zeal with which he devoted himself on every occasion to promote the interests of his country. His countrymen have now the opportunity of reading the autobiography which he dictated to Miss Forsyth during a short summer tour on the continent in 1885, and from which may be gathered both a fair account of his life and also a fine example for future public servants. There have, of course, been more famous Anglo-Indians than Sir Douglas Forsyth, but his biography shows him to have been a true type of his order—brave, honourable, and right dealing.

*General Gordon.*

THE letters which Miss Gordon has collected from the voluminous correspondence that her famous brother kept up with her between 1854 and 1884, contain much that is interesting to the general reader and characteristic of the writer. ["Letters of General C. G. Gordon to his Sister, M. A. Gordon." (London : Macmillan and Co.)] They are dedicated by special permission to the Queen, and Her Majesty contributes two letters which give eloquent expression to the feelings of distress and mortification entertained by the mass of her subjects at the delay in sending relief to General Gordon during the summer of 1884, and which are destined to become historical. The main thread that runs throughout the contents of this little volume is one of religious conviction, and Miss Gordon has placed before herself, as the chief object to be attained by the publication of this volume, the wish to make her brother's religious life better understood. We fancy this wish will be best attained by periodical dipping into this volume, and not by a conscientious perusal of its contents from the beginning to the end. The book cannot be opened without coming across passages that could only have proceeded from a great and original mind, and that must exercise some influence even on those who do not share his sentiments or regard the facts from the same point of view, from the transparent sincerity of the writer and the loftiness of his moral convictions. For ourselves we think that this volume must further intensify the national belief that General Gordon was a religious hero of the type of the Saints, and that his main desire was to be right according to his standard rather than to be successful ; and for the endurance of his fame among a religious race like the English, nothing could be better. At the same time, we regret that the views he hastily formed about the Indian Civil Service, which has contained a higher average of character, ability, and honour than is to be found among any other special class or pro-

fession of our countrymen, and which has produced heroes with whom General Gordon himself would have been proud to think that he would rank in history, have been given a place in this volume. But, as Miss Gordon says, he must not be made "an offender for a word," and we hope that the good sense of the reader will guide him or her aright in estimating the true value of the few erratic opinions and misleading statements of fact amid the vast quantity of original, trustworthy, and suggestive matter contained in this volume of the writer's innermost thoughts from youthful days till he had become a man of experience and of fame.

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*Sketches in Japan.*

MAJOR KNOLLYS may be complimented on having written as bright and readable a book of travels as it seldom falls to the lot of the jaded reviewer to peruse. By some strange combination of circumstances, Japan is a more interesting country to Europeans than China, but Major Knollys gives many reasons in explanation of this interest, and we fancy that his reader will lay down the volume ["Sketches of Life in Japan." By Major HENRY KNOLLYS, R.A. (London: Chapman and Hall.)] thinking it more charming than ever. We shall not attempt the unpleasant task of suggesting that there is another side to the picture. The Japanese have one great virtue rare in the East, and which of itself commends them in the strongest manner to the goodwill of Englishmen; and that is their scrupulous cleanliness. They have also decidedly hospitable instincts, and their sentiments towards foreigners are unquestionably friendly, in both of which attributes they furnish a pleasing contrast to their neighbours, the Chinese. When to the qualities of the people is added the scenery of the country, which is nearly always out of the common, and often highly picturesque, it will be seen that a Japanese tour may be made a very pleasurable experience indeed. How

pleasurable and profitable it can prove may be best learnt from the perusal of Major Knollys' sketches.

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*Keshub Chunder Sen.*

THE founder of the Brahmo Somaj was unquestionably one of the most remarkable Indians of his generation, and as such, was well deserving of the detailed biography supplied in this volume by Mr. P. C. MOZOOMDAR. ["The Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen." (Calcutta; and Trübner and Co., London.)] We must admit that we are not in perfect accord with the writer's political or religious sentiments, and we infinitely prefer his biographical facts to his rhetoric. He gives a family history of the Sen family, from the time of Keshub's great-grandfather, in its ancestral village of Garifa on the banks of the Hughly. The Sens were a historical family claiming descent from the Sena Rajahs, and belonged to the influential and honourable caste of the Vaidyas, which came next after the Brahmins. Mr. Mozoomdar gives a very careful and sympathetic account of Keshub's career from his birth in 1838 to his death early in 1884, but we cannot do more than indicate to the reader that this volume contains this narrative from a friendly and adulatory hand. The tenth chapter, relating to the marriage of his daughter with the Maharajah of Cuch Behar, is particularly interesting; it is, however, possible that Mr. Mozoomdar's version of the affair may give rise to controversy, particularly with regard to the part played by the Government throughout the whole transaction. Indeed, we think very strongly that his narrative should be carefully read, and if his representations about the conduct of the Government are not in accordance with the truth, they ought to be exposed, and a retractation demanded. It is not pleasant to us to read such passages as Keshub "fer-  
vently believed that the representatives of the British

Government could never deceive him" with the insinuation that they did.

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*Monetary Problems.*

IN this collection of essays ["A Treatise on Money, and Essays on Present Monetary Problems," by J. SHIELD NICHOLSON, (W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London)] Professor Nicholson has supplied some valuable material, bearing on monetary matters generally, and on the silver question in particular. The chapters which will most interest the Anglo-Indian reader are those on International Bimetallism, and the stability of the Fixed Ratio, but the whole volume is well worth careful perusal, and the account of the famous Law will be of more general interest. Professor Nicholson writes as a bimetallist, and he believes that the theory of the fixed ratio between the two metals can be put into successful practice as a remedy for the evils of mono-metallism. Whether Professor Nicholson proves his case or not he has certainly collected an immense amount of useful information, and placed it before his readers in a clear and interesting manner.

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*An Anglo-Indian Novel.*

THE only heavy charge we have to make against Mr. Hutchinson's novel ["More than he Bargained for," by J. ROBERT HUTCHINSON, (London: T. Fisher Unwin)] is that he induces his readers to believe that the code of morals prevalent in India among Europeans when there was no female society of their own race exists at the present day, or at least at a very recent period. Mr. Thomas Flinn's harem is simply an anachronism. Apart from this blemish, which does not affect the merit of the book as a novel, but only as a faithful picture of Anglo-Indian life, Mr. Hutchinson's work deserves a great deal of praise. It is



unquestionably graphic ; some of the characters, such as Alice Maynard and the old Hindoo, Hoosein Khan, are drawn in a life-like manner, and the descriptions of scenery are written in a style which is not characteristic of, at all events, the Indian novelist. We are likely to hear more of this author, who has produced a work which, with all its faults, is among the best *social* novels relating to India. We emphasise the word *social*, so as not to be thought to suggest a comparison with the admirable historical tales of the late Colonel Meadows Taylor.

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### *Chaldea.*

THE story of Chaldea relating to a country and people associated with the beginnings of Asiatic, and therefore of all, history is one that legitimately falls within our purview, thus enabling us to bear testimony to the excellence of another volume of Mr. Fisher Unwin's series of historical monographs on the nations of the earth. ["Chaldea, from the Earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria, by ZENAIDE A. RAGOZIN. (T. Fisher Unwin)."] Mr. Ragozin has written an unquestionably interesting and readable book, and provides the desultory or careless reader with an agreeable short cut through all the knowledge stored by Layard and Smith, Rawlinson and Lenormant, while Professor Sayce's most recent labours and theories are duly noted, and have moreover exercised a powerful influence on the writer's own mind. In an exceedingly graphic introduction of 117 pages Mr. Ragozin describes the various discoveries of the last sixty-seven years from the time of Mr. Rich, which brought the Chaldees, who were only known from the brief Biblical mention of them, within our scientific acquaintance as an oriental people. It is only after this elaborate summary of archæological and linguistic achievement, which it "required an almost fierce determination and superhuman patience to master," that Mr. Ragozin

begins the story of Chaldea by suggesting that the Chaldees were a section of the Turanian descendants of the exiled Cain. The discoveries in the Royal Library at Nineveh bring the people of Shumir and Accad (South and North Chaldea) within our cognizance, and from that time down to their overthrow by the Assyrians Mr. Ragozin continues the history of Chaldea, with several dependent chapters on their religion, mythology, and heroes. A people whose monuments go back farther than those of Egypt, viz., to 4,000 B.C., and whose religious and astronomical knowledge exercised a powerful influence on all subsequent nations down to our own day, have unimpeachable claims on our consideration, and Mr. Ragozin has succeeded in making his theme interesting and attractive, thus forming, as he intended, a sort of "introduction to the study of ancient history."

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*The Government Year Book.*

A NEW book of reference, somewhat on the lines of "The Statesman's Year Book," but with many original features of its own, makes its first appearance this quarter in "The Government Year Book" (edited by LEWIS SERGEANT, and published by T. Fisher Unwin). It is intended mainly as "a record of the forms and methods of Government of Great Britain, the Colonies, and Foreign Countries," while it will be the duty of each issue to review and record the most striking events of the preceding year. The idea is not a bad one, and for a first number the present volume is remarkably free from errors. Mr. Sergeant will forgive our saying that the section devoted to India is not as satisfactory as it might be, and that there is something almost funny in describing China through the spectacles of a Japanese diplomatist. There is enough good work in the volume to justify the expectation that these blemishes will be removed in future editions, and that it will take

its place permanently as a useful and well-known work of reference.

### *The India List.*

A NEW number of the India List has made its appearance for the new year, and Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., that historical publishing firm of Asiatic works, from which, by the way, we regret to see so few books on their old subject emanating nowadays, have evidently spared no effort to make it as complete and accurate as possible, and to bring down the official history of each individual in our Eastern service to the latest possible date. The work gives not merely the status and seniority of each member of the Covenanted Service, but also ample particulars of the Uncovenanted and Military Services. It supplies, besides, full particulars of the examinations for each branch of the service, the emoluments and privileges that accrue to successful candidates, and the conditions of leave and pension. For all interested directly or indirectly in official India the "India List" is as indispensable as the Army List or Hart is for our military classes.



THE PROPERTY OF THE  
HOME DEPT.  
OF THE GOVT. OF INDIA

\* \* \* *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*

ED. A. Q. R.



